

SUBHEDAR MALHAR RAO HOLKAR.

श्रीराम

LIFE

of

SUBHEDAR MALHAR RAO HOLKAR

Founder of the Indore State

(1693-1766 A. D.)

By

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Assisted By

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RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

To

His Highness Maharajahdhiraj Rajrajeshwar

Sawai Shree Yeshwantrao Holkar Bahadur

RULER OF INDORE.

By

His Highness's Dutiful and Obedient Servant,

M. W. BURWAY.

FOREWORD.

By the Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. A. Kincaid,
C.V.O., I.C.S., Retired.

When my father's old friend Muntazim Bahadur Mukund Wamanrao Burway, B.A., asked me to write a foreword to his life of Mulhar Rao Holkar, I willingly promised to do so. Not only was I constrained by the ties of family friendship but I also felt that a Maharashtra gentleman, who had held the high post of District & Sessions Judge of Indore, was peculiarly qualified to write a biography of the illustrious founder of the great state wherein he had served. Now that an an advance copy is in my hands, I find that my expectations have been fully realised . The book is excellently written and is based on a sound and wide knowledge of the author's subject.

The founder of the State of Indore, Malhar Rao Holkar was born on the 16th March 1693 at Hol on the banks of the river Nira near Jejuri in the Poona district. His father's name was Khanduji Virkar but Malhar Rao called himself in later life Holkar, or the man from Hol, the village in which his father lived. At Hol the Virkars, although Dhangars or Shepherds by caste, held the post of Chaugula or chief village officer under the Patil. Malhar Rao's mother was a Bargal from Talode in Khandesh, a well-to-do family who held lands and served as soldiers under Kadam Bande. Khanduji Virkar died when his son was only three; his male relatives seized Khanduji's landed property; and when his widow protested, they drove her out of the village. She returned to her father's house, where, although a penniless widow, she was well treated. Her brother Bhojraj took care of the little boy and taught him to look after sheep. It was while Malhar Rao was learning to be a shepherd, that the miracle, that foretold his future greatness occurred. A Cobra came near the little boy as he slept one afternoon and without biting him, spread its hood over the sleeping child. A cobra with hood expanded over a monarch's or a god's head is one of the attributes of sovereignty; so the strange incident was interpreted by the village Brahmans as a sign that some day the orphan boy would be a prince. Bhojraj shortly afterwards had a dream, that confirmed him in the belief that his nephew was reserved for a great destiny. In no long time he took Malhar Rao

from a shepherd's work, had him taught the use of the lance and finally enlisted him as a trooper in the service of Kadam Bande. There his exceptional talents and his interest in the profession of arms soon attracted his superiors' attention. The young Malhar Rao had set out upon the path of glory.

The young soldier first saw active service in 1717, when Balaji Vishwanath, the first Peshwa, went to Delhi at the invitation of the Sayad brothers. On his return Malhar Rao married Bhojraj's daughter, Gautamabai, and joined the Chief of Burwani, in whose employ he defeated a Maratha army. This success led to his appointment as arbitrator between the chief and the Peshwa and to his engagment by the Peshwa in his personal command. On the death of Balaji Vishwanath, Malhar Rao was confirmed by Baji Rao I, who had long esteemed the young Dhangar. After Bajirao's campaign in Malwa, Malhar Rao received as a reward for distinguished service, the right to levy for himself Chauth and Sardeshmukhi in Central India. This gave Malhar Rao his first footing in Malwa.

When the Deccan party at the head of which was Trimbak Rao Dabhade, rebelled against the ascendency of Bajirao I, Malhar Rao Holkar adhered faithfully to the cause of his friend the Peshwa. He took a prominent part in the battle of Dabhai, which destroyed the power of the Dabhade family. As a reward for his share in this great victory, he was sent as second in command under Baji Rao's brother, Chimnaji Appa, to drive the Moghuls out of Central India. By a skilful march the Maratha army crossed the Narbada unmolested by the enemy and destroyed the Moghul governor Daya Bahadur and his army at the battle of Tirla on 12th October 1731. Thereafter the Moghuls evacuated Central India.

In 1736 Malhar Rao Holkar took a prominent part in Baji Rao's march on Delhi. It was, however, during the siege of Bassein that Malhar Rao probably reached the zenith of his fame. The Viceroy of the North, as the Portuguese governor of Bassein was called, had grossly insulted Ghorpade, the ancestor of the present Chief of Ichalkaranji, when the latter had been sent by Baji Rao to carry out clauses of a Maratha Portuguese treaty. This folly on the part of the Governor led to the seige and eventual capture of Bassein. The Maratha commander-in-Chief

was Chimnaji Appa; but the leaders of the various contingents vied with each other in gallantry; and conspicuous among them for reckless daring was Malhar Rao Holkar.

In 1750 Holkar and Jayappa Sindia jointly overran Rohilkhand and in 1754 accompanied Raghunath Rao, the brother of the third Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, into Hindusthan. At the seige of Kumbheri Holkar had the terrible sorrow of losing in battle his only son Khande Rao, the husband of the saintly Ahilyabai.

On the return of Raghunath Rao's troops the Peshwa felt that Malhar Rao could be entrusted with an independent command. He named him Commander-in-Chief of an expedition against the Nawab of Savanur, whom he conquered taking his capital by storm. In 1757 there seemed no limits to the Peshwa's ambition and he entrusted his younger brother Raghunath Rao with the conquest of the Punjab. Malhar Rao was appointed second in command. The military side of the expedition was in every way successful. The Afghans, who had occupied Lahore, were driven out and forced to withdraw into Afghanisthan. As a financial operation the expedition was a failure. So far from Raghunath Rao bringing money back to Poona, he had to own to a big deficit. It appears that under Raghunath Rao's lax supervision, the Maratha Sardars robbed the treasure chest. Malhar Rao was charged by Sadashiv Rao, the Peshwa's first cousin, with having helped himself to eighty lakhs, a charge partly substantiated by his voluntary payment of sixty lakhs by way of compromise. A still more unfortunate aspect of the case was that it laid the seeds of a quarrel bettween Sadashiv Rao and Malhar Rao that had disastrous results at Panipat to which we must now come.

Ahmadshah Abdali, the able young ruler of Afghanisthan, had learned with bitter anger the ejectment of his troops from the Northern Punjab. He invaded India and over-whelmed the Maratha advance guards. Jotiba and Dattaji Scindia fell in action and Malhar Rao Holkar was taken by surprise and badly beaten at Sikandra. To restore Maratha prestige a great army marched northwards under Sadashiv Rao. Malhar Rao Holkar joined it with a fresh contingent. The army was in outer appearance formidable; but it had the seeds of great weakness. Malhar Rao Holkar and the older Maratha chiefs believed

in the old-fashioned Maratha tactics. These required great mobility but did not need an open line of communications. Sadashiv Rao, on the other hand, was attracted by the European tactics made famous by the French adventurer M. De Bussy. He engaged Ibrahim Gardi, an Indian Artilleryman trained by De Bussy himself to organise a corps of disciplined infantry. Ibrahim Gardi did his work well and his men proved their worth at Udgir. But European tactics needed an open line of communications and a constant source of supplies. A failure to grasp this elementary fact led to the memorable disaster of January, 1761. The presence of Ibrahim Gardi's infantry led Sadashiv Rao to take post at Panipat and this rendered Malhar Rao's light cavalry useless. His horses ate up the surrounding country and then died of starvation. Eventually Sadashiv Rao was forced by hunger to fight and was defeated and killed. Malhar Rao, who had never approved Sadashiv Rao's tactics, believed it to be his duty to cut his way out of the lost battle. He should, however, have halted at Delhi and with Naro Shankar should have rallied the fugitives and organised an orderly retreat. Unfortunately he never stopped until he reached Gwalior, with the result that the remains of Sadashiv Rao's grand army were massacred by the peasants.

The shock of the defeat and the deaths of Sadashiv Rao and Viswas Rao, the Peshwa's eldest son, killed Balaji. He died on Parwati Hill in June of the same year. The new Peshwa was Balaji's second son Madhao Rao, a prince of the most eminent qualities. At first he disliked Malhar Rao whom he blamed for the Panipat disaster; but Malhar Rao regained his master's esteem by his gallantry at Rakshasbhuwan, when the old soldier and the young prince restored the shaken ranks of the Maratha army.

Ceaseless campaigning was wearing out the famous old veteran. Nevertheless in 1764 he took part in Madhav Rao's successful campaign against Haidar Ali of Maisur. The following year he fought the English in defence of Surajuddaulah and won a slight success at Anupsar. Colonel Carnac, however, rallied his men and made a successful night attack on Holkar's camp, driving him across the Jumna river. In 1765 Holkar was again beaten by Carnac at Kora, where the English artillery broke down all resistance. This defeat weighed heavily on the war-worn old man. In may 1766 an abscess in his ear developed

and caused him much pain. The medical science of his doctors was not able to stop the malady and on the 20th May 1766 the splendid old adventurer passed away. He had risen from penniless dependence to independent greatness; and while the Peshwa's empire has passed away, the principality that Malhar Rao founded, remains. It is still one of the greatest states within the circle of the British Empire.

(Sd.) CHARLES A. KINCAID.

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ARMS.—The arms used by the State consist of a Khanda (broad-sword) and lance saltire-wise over a field of poppy and wheat in which a sacred bull (Nandi) couchant and a horse rearing are depicted.

Crest—A sun in splendour under a Chhatri or royal umbrella.

NOTE.—The explanation given is as follows:—The Holkars claim descent from Udaipur of which house the sun is the emblem, as being the greatest of the Suryavanshi clans; the umbrella, besides being an emblem of State, refers to a tale of Malhar Rao in which a cobra is said to have protected him from the sun by opening its hood above him. The horse and sword refer to the warrior God Khande Rao, the Avatar of Shiva, connected especially with Jejuri near Poona where His Temple stands. The bull is sacred to Shiva, and the spear the favourite weapon of the founder of the State. Wheat and poppy are the principal products of the State.

The arms given at Delhi were; Gules; two lances in saltire surmounted or, a horseman's sword point upwards argent; in chief three poppy heads proper seeded or Crest—A bay horse trapped. Supporters—Horses trapped proper.

MOTTO.—Prahomesho Labhya Shri Kartuh Prarabdhat. " Umesh (Shiva) has said, success attends

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him who strives (or, is obtained by the efforts of the doer)." The same motto was given on the Delhi banner. The letters underlined spell Holkar.

BANNER.—The State banner consists of red and white stripes being that of the Bande family given to Malhar Rao Holkar.

GOTRACHARA.—This house has no proper Gotra-chara. The ordinary gotra is the Vishnu charana.

The Rulers are Hindus of the Shaivite sect, their principal Deity being Khande Rao (Khandoba or Martand) of Jejuri, near Poona.[1]

(1) This information is taken from the Indore State Gazetteer by Colonel Luard.

PREFACE.

Last year my " Shree Ramagita " appeared before the public. This year by the grace of the Divine Shree Rama the publication of my " Life of Subhedar Malhar Rao Holkar, " the founder of the Holkar State, happily synchronises with the return of His Highness Maharajah Sawai Yeshwantrao Holkar to Indore after completing his education at Oxford. I rejoice that Providence has enabled me to publish three biograghies [1] of the most prominent members of the Holkar family.

The appreciation which my " Life of H. H. Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar II, G. C. S. I. " received from the Press and the Public and from eminent scholars in India and England was certainly most gratifying [2] and served as a sti-

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(1) I will be failing in my duty if I do not mention here that I owe my studies of the Vedant Philosophy and Maratha History to the strong initiative of my revered father, the late Rao Bahadur Wamanrao Tatya Burway, who was for a long time Soobha and sometime Sir Soobha of the Malwa Province of the Gwalior State at Ujjain. He encouraged me to write the " Lives " of the great Peshwa Baji Rao I and of the prominent members of the Holkar and Scindhia Families. He lived a truly Vedantic life of ceaseless activity and benevolence. About his deep interest in Maratha History I have said much in my " Life of Mahadji Scindhia " and " Life of Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar II, " published in 1922 and 1925 respectively. He enjoyed the esteem and the confidence of the late Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindhia of Gwalior and the late Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar of Indore.

(2) The late Colonel C. E. Luard, M. A. (Oxon), C. I. E , was Political Agent in Bhopal, when he wrote the Foreword to my "Life of Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar II."

mulus to me in the preparation of this work, which was indefinitely delayed owing to difficulties and circumstances, over which I had no control. At the end of this work I have given the opinions of some prominent persons and reviews from leading Papers, from which it will be evident that the biography of Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar II, " the maker of modern Indore, " is considered as a standard work by famous scholars like Kincaid, Kelkar, Luard, Ojha and others. As I was placed on special duty by His Highness the Maharajah Holkar for the preparation of this work, I certainly would be doing less than justice to myself if I did not feel a pride and satisfaction in finding that Providence has graced my labours with such a success,

I have availed myself of all the new material that is recently published by Maharashtra scholars, while engaged on the present biography. Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Rao Scindhia may well be described as the right and the left hands, of the great Peshwa Baji Rao I, under whom the Marathas undertook the great offensive against the Moghul Power and wrested the provinces of Malwa, Guzerath and Bundelkhand from the Moghuls by the force of their arms. The memorable speech of this Peshwa in the Durbar of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaja clearly shows how and why Baji Rao's bold and indomitable policy and his remarkable energy in carrying successful expeditions from Poona to Delhi entitle him to be ranked next to the illustrious Shivaji, the defender of the Hindu religion and the great leader of the Maratha nation.[1] It was, indeed, an enviable good luck of

(1) Recently, a very interesting Life of the great Chhatrapati Shivaji, written in English by Professor Takakhava, is published. Our readers should read this Life along with the Lives of Aurangzeb by Professor Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Mr, Lane-Pool. In my work entitled "The Marathas and the Moghuls,', I have shown how Shivaji's character and aims stand on a far higher pedestal of moral grandeur than those of Aurangzeb who virtually proved to be the enemy of the Moghul power.

Holkar and Scindhia to be so inseparably associated with this heroic Peshwa[2] in the Hindu Re-conquest of India during the eighteenth century and to be raised by the Peshwa's generous appreciation from the ordinary position of a Shilledar to that of a mighty Sirdar and Saranjamdar of the Peshwa. Ranoji Scindhia, the founder of the Gwalior State, died in 1745, but Malhar Rao Holkar had the good luck to serve under Baji Rao's able successors, Balaji Baji Rao, and Madhav Rao I and to win fresh laurels from them.

I have reasons to think that Indian as well as English writers on Maratha History have not done that justice to Malhar Rao Holkar, which he amply deserved.[3] It was not an ordinary thing to enjoy the full confidence of Baji Rao I, Balaji Baji Rao and Madhav Rao I, whose spectacular careers had dazzled all the rivals of the Maratha power in India. I have shown by undeniable evidence and logic of facts that Malhar Rao did enjoy the confidence of the three Peshwas. He faithfully carried out what the Peshwas had ordered him to do and his great merit lies in the fact that his performance of his duty elicited a cordial appreciation and recognition of

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(2) In 1884, my revered father was collecting material for a Life of Peshwa Baji Rao I, as Col. W. Tweedie, C. S, I., Resident at Gwalior, was then writing this Peshwa's Life and had asked my father for help in the matter. In 1888, I wrote to Col. Tweedie about this subject, when he informad me that unfortunately it never went beyond the stage of collecting materials. I may be permitted to mention here that I have completed the Manuscript of the Life of Peshwa Baji Rao I. Under Providence it may soon see the light of day.

(3) Vide Mr. G. S. Sardesai's observations in the "Riyasat," referred to in the Appendix. Mr. Sardesai is entirely wrong in his strictures against Malhar Rao Holkar. Mr. K. W. Purandare's article in this connection, published in the Bharat-Itihas-Sanshodhak-Mandal's Volume, gives a well-reasoned reply to Mr. Sardesai's groundless charge against Malhar Rao Holkar, (Vide Appendix XIV).

three successive Peshwas.[1] It would be improper, to institute a comparison between Malhar Rao Holkar and Mahadaji Scindhia.

My aim in writing my works (on Hindu Philosophy and Maratha History) in the English language is that they may be read not only in all parts of India but also in England and other countries. Moreover, I had to prove, by evidence the falsehood of the assertions of writers like Dr Vincent Smith, De La Fosse and others with regard to important incidents in Maratha History.[2] This object could not have been achieved if I had written my works in Marathi or in Hindi. As there are many misprints in this work, an Errata has been given at the end of this book for ready reference.

The evening of life is slowly approaching and I feel relieved that the merciful Providence has enabled me to publish seven works on Maratha History. Two works more viz. " Life and Times of Shivaji II, 1680-1749, " and ' Life ' of the great Peshwa Baji Rao I' are ready in Manuscript form. I pray the Almighty that these two works may soon appear before the public. My hopes of publishing

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(1) In order to properly understand Malhar Rao Holkar's mentality, one must have that frame of mind which characterised the pious Hindus of the old school, as depicted in the following Shloka:—

अन्नदाता भयत्राता कन्यादाता तथैवच ॥
जनिता चोपनेता च पंचैते पितरस्मृता: ॥ १ ॥

Translation:—The giver of food, the deliverer from a calamity, the father-in-law, the real father and the preceptor (Guru)—these five are called fathers.

Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Rao Scindhia had the same reverence for the Peshwas, which the latter had for Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaja. Vide " Ranoji Rao Scindhia, " by the present writer, p. 41.

(2) In my work entitled, " The Marathas and the Moghuls." which was highly spoken of by English and Indian scholars, and in my " Life of



THE LATE RAO BAHADUR WAMANRAO TATYA BURWAY.

the " Life of Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindhia G. C S. I., G. C. B. " and " History of the Gwalior State " have been deferred indefinitely on account of the lamentable and premature death of Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindhia, G. C. S. I., G. C. V. O., G. C. I. E., the late great Ruler of Gwalior. In fact Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindhia's death is a national calamity. It is impossible to describe in words the extent of the loss which India has suffered by his premature demise.[1]

Before finishing this preface, I beg to express my thanks to all who helped me in any way.[2] I mention with reverence and gratitude the happy directions I had always received from my revered father, the late Rao Bahadur Wamanrao Tatya Burway, my Guru in Vedanta Philosophy and Maratha History. My most respectful thanks are due to my gracious Sovereign His Highness Maharajah Holkar for generous support. I heartily thank the Hon'ble Colonel R. J. W. Heale, C. I. E., O. B. E., A. G. G. in C. I., Aitmad-ud-dowlah Rai Bahadur S. M. Bapna, B. A., B. Sc., LL. B., the Prime Minister of Indore, and Rao Bahadur Sirdar M. V. Kibe, M. A., M. R. A. S., Deputy Prime Minister for their constant help to my publications. My thanks are also due to

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Mahadji Scindhia. " I have pointed out the mistakes of some of the English writers on Maratha History and am glad to observe here that eminent historians like the Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. A. Kincaid and others have endorsed my views.

(1) I gratefully remember the long interview I had with Maharajah Madhav Rao Scindhia at Ujjain in the June of 1918 when H. H. had called me with the Manuscript of his father's Life. " बरवे साहेब, लष्कर लष्करास या व आमचे वाडिलांचें चरित्र छापा, " (Mr. Burway, come soon to Gwalior to publish my father's Life)--These words of His late Highness Maharajah Madhav Rao Scindhia still ring into my ears.

(2) Sir Reginald Glancy, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., gave me great encouragement in my historical pursuits. My historical researches in the Bombay Presidency received much help from the Hon'ble Mr. J. E. B. Hotson, I. C.S.

Messrs C. R. Palairet, L. Arathoon, Rai Saheb Mathulal, N. V. Phadke, (who unfortunately died before this work was published.) and Mr. V. V. Thakur, for their interest in this work. While carrying this work through the Press during my retirement I have received valuable help from my nephew, Mr. Anandrao Gunesh Burway and my grandson, Mr. Wasudeo Govind Burway, B. SC and it deserves to be gratefully mentioned. I have also to thank Mr. H. C. Sharma, Superintendent State Press, for his courtesy.

In conclusion I offer my most respectful and grateful obeisance to the Almighty Shree Rama for enabling me to publish this biography of Subhedar Malhar Rao Holkar, the founder of the Holkar State. May God bless Maharajah Holkar.

Indore City,
9th May 1930.

M. W. Burway.

C. S. I., the Hon'ble Mr. J. R. Martin, I. C. S., C. I. E., and Major Lang C.I.E., Resident in Kolhapur. The Hon'ble Mr. L. W. Reynolds I. C. S., C. S. I., C. I. E., Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana, and the Hon'ble Mr. E. H. Kealy, I.C. S., C. I. E., gave me valuable aid in my historical researches in Rajputana. H. E. Maharajah Sir Kishan Prasad, G. C. I. E., Prime Minister, of Hyderabad, Colonel K. N. Haksar, B. A., C. I. E., of Gwalior, Raja Pratapgirji Narsinghgirji, and Nawab Sir Amin Jung, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., of Hyderabad, gave me much help. I gratefully acknowledge the help of all these gentlemen.



SHREE RAMDAS SWAMI SHIWAJI CHHATRAPATI.

INTRODUCTION.

Malhar Rao, the founder of the Holkar State, belongs to that famous school of patriotism which sprang into existence under the auspices of the illustrious Shivaji Chatrapati[1] and reached a stage of remarkable development under the great Peshwa Baji Rao I. The times in which he was born were witnessing a wonderful struggle between the Marathas and the Moghals and were, indeed, memorable on account of the religious revival which was slowly and gradually progressing not only in Maharashtra but in the whole of India and which led ultimately to the political upheaval resulting in the annihilation of the tyrannical Moghal Power.[2]

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(1) On Falgun Vadya 3rd (on the 3rd of the dark half of Falgun) April 10, 1627 after an interval of four years Jijabai bore Shahaji a second son. Several stories were told in support of the general belief that the baby boy was an incarnation of the God Shiva. A charming one is to be found in the Shedgaonkar Bakhar. One night Shahaji dreamt that he saw a Gosavi or Hindu anchorite stand by his bed side and put a mango in his hand. "Share the fruit with your wife", said the anchorite, "and you will become the father of a son who will be an incarnation of God Shiva. You must never force him to salute a Musalman and after his twelth year you must leave him free to act as he pleases"—Kincaid and Parasnis, Volume I. Page 123.

"Sevajee was a soldier unequalled, skilled in the arts of Government, and a friend of men of virtue and religion. He planned his schemes wisely and executed them with steadiness. He consulted many on every point, but acted according to that advice which, after weighing in his own mind, he thought best applicable to his designs. No one was acquainted with his determinations but by the success of their execution." Page 55, Operations in the Decean.

(2) The work done by the Sikh Gurus is worthy of mention. The Sikh Panth, which sprang into existence under the guidance of Guru Nanak, is a non-sectarian branch of Hinduism, which successfully baffled the terrorism carried on by the Moghals and saved Hinduism from destruction in the Punjab and frontier districts, where the Moghal inroads were so frequent. Those European writers who treat the Sikh Panth as independent of or separate

While on the one hand this religious Renaissance united the Hindus for resisting the Moslem power and its unbearable oppression, it also served to produce great moral benefits to the people at large by bringing about a catholic spirit which reconciled Islam to Hinduism. Hindu saints like Tukaram and Eknath and Mahomedan saints like Kabir and Shaikh Mohammad were shining examples of this catholic spirit, which served to unite the Hindu and Mahomedan population. The student of Maratha History cannot ignore these forces which were instrumental in pacifying the discordant elements in Maharashtra and in cementing not only the Marathas but all the Hindu hearts for a common and strenuous effort to overthrow the despotism of the Moghal yoke[1] and deliver the Hindus from the oppression

from Hindu religion, should bear in mind that Guru Nanak Sahib was a strong devotee of Shree Vishnu and that the Maharashtra saints, Namdeo and Trilochan are revered by the Sikhs as their Gurus. The Sikh Panth is certainly a Panth of Hinduism and not independant of it. More on this point is unnecessary in this work. Vide Professor C. S. Shriniwas Charis' Article in the "Indian Review," October 1925 for a clear view as to how the Hindu and Mahomedan population at large was characterized by a catholic spirit through the influence of the Mahomedan saints. The struggle was between the Marathas and the despotic Moghal power and not between the Hindu and the Mohommedan population at large. Our readers should carefully bear this in mind. The Hindu and Mahommedan populations were not at war.

Shivaji's lifework has been briefly described in the following significant verse of the poet Bhukan:—

काशीकी कलाजाती, मथुरा मसीद होती।
नहीं होते शिवाजी तो सुनत होत सबकी

"Benaras would have lost her luster. Mathura would have been turned into a Musjid. But for the birth of Shivaji the whole Hindu race would have been circumcised"-Vide Life of Shree Ramdas Swami by Goverdhandas Lakhmidas Thakur of Bombay.

(1) Mr. Rajwade's observations are noteworthy in this connection:—

"पंधराव्या व सोळाव्या शतकांत आणि सतराव्या शतकाच्या

and exactions of a cruel system of administration which prevailed during the days of the great Akbar's unworthy successors, who left no stone unturned in inflicting the

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पूर्वार्धांत महाराष्ट्राची स्थिति फार विपन्न झाली होती. त्याबेळचे वर्णन करितांना समर्थ म्हणतात: 'तीर्थ क्षेत्रें मोडिलीं। ब्राह्मणस्थानें भ्रष्ट झालीं। सकळ पृथ्वी आंदोळली। धर्म गेला,' यवनांनीं हिंदुधर्माचा उच्छेदकरून टाकिला तेंव्हां देव, धर्म, गो, ब्राह्मण ह्यांचे संरक्षण करण्यास शिवाजी राजे अवतीर्ण झाले"—Rajwade's Introduction page 32.

Of the two successors of Shivaji, the first was a debauche and the second a puppet. Their own ranks were torn by dissension. Yet, so indomitable was the spirit which Shivaji had evoked, that not only did they step by step reconquer every inch of the lost ground until the invading hordes were worn down and forced to evacuate the country, but they finally succeeded in laying the foundation of a vast though loosely-knit confederacy, with its heart in Poona and tentacles which spread far and wide from Lahore to Calcutta and Calcutta to Tanjawar.

For details about the oppression suffered by the Hindus in all parts of india, see "The Marathas and the Moghals" by the present writer, pages 18-21 and "Life of Guru Govind Singh."

Mr. Rajwade's admirable observations on this point are as follows:—

"शिवाजीनीं यवनांच्या सर्वोच्छेदक गतीचा प्रतिरोध केला. ह्या महत्कृत्याला अनुलक्षून समर्थ शिवाजीराजास लिहीतात कीं 'तुम्ही झाला म्हणून महाराष्ट्र धर्म काहींतरी राहिला'. व पुढें सप्रेम विनवणी करितात कीं, 'आपण धर्मस्थापनेची कीर्ति उत्तरोत्तर अशींच संभाळिली पाहिजे.' धर्म स्थापनेची कीर्ति संभाळण्यास काय करावें म्हणाल तर 'अमर्याद फितवेखोर लोकांचा संहार करावा; न्याय सीमा उल्लंघू नये; नेटके बंध बांधावे; तुरंग, शस्त्र आणि स्वार जमवावे' आणि सर्वांत पहिलें काम काय करावें तर 'मराठा तितका मेळवावा. आणि जिकडे तिकडे महाराष्ट्र धर्म वाढवावा.' आपला महाराष्ट्र धर्म वाढविण्यास आणखी उपाय कोणते तर 'बहुत लोक मेळवावे। एक विचारें भरावें। कष्टें करून घसरावें। म्लेंच्छावरी॥' आणि इतकें करून झाल्यावर मग, 'आहे तितकें जतन करावें।

severest hardships upon the "mild" Hindu population. In this work it is not necessary to detail the sad story of the "Zulum" which was committed by the short-sighted successors of the great Akbar and which led ultimately to the fall of the Moghal Empire. Till the death of Aurangzeb, the chief oppressor of the Hindus, the Hindu population was treated with every refinement of cruelty in all parts of India. Aurangzeb died in despair at Ahmednagar on 3rd March 1707. Mr. Kincaid, the Historian of the Marathas, makes the following observations about this emperor:—"It is difficult, if not impossible, for a historian of the Maratha people to do justice to Aurangzeb. His conduct towards Shivaji and Sambhaji was treacherous and cruel. His every relation with the Kings of Bijapur and Golconda was stained with inhumanity and perfidy. His kindness towards Shahu was prompted by political rather than charitable motives. Still it must be conceded that of all the Delhi emperors the memory of Aurangzeb is dearest to Indian Musalmans. If to Hindus he was cruel and intolerant, to the orthodox followers of Islam he was gracious and indulgent. Yet his excessive partiality to Musalmans convicts the emperor of folly. The Moghul throne was guarded by the swords of the Rajput clans. Conquered and conciliated by Akbar, honoured alike by Jahangir and Shah Jehan, the chiefs of Rajasthan had, during their three reigns, been the bulwork

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पुढें आणिक मेळवावें। महाराष्ट्र राज्य करावें। जिकडे तिकडे' ॥ समर्थाच्या या उक्तींवरून कळून येईल कीं सतराव्या शतकाच्या पूर्वार्धांत महाराष्ट्रांतील विचारी पुरुषांची मनें एका जबर कल्पनेनें भारूनगेलेलीं होतीं. ती कल्पना कोणती तर महाराष्ट्रधर्माची स्थापना करणें ही. ही कल्पना सफल करण्याचें अवघड काम शिवाजीनें केलें."

of the house of Timur. The soul of Chivalry, they had poured out like water in the service of the empire, the best blood of their Kingdoms. It was not until they had suffered a succession of insults from the bigoted Aurangzeb that their hearts turned against him. In his youth Aurangzeb had rebelled and imprisoned an indulgent father and murdered two of his brothers. The crimes of his youth bore bitter fruit. Through his long life he was haunted by the fear that his sons would behave to him as he had behaved towards Shah Jehan; and his great campaign in the South was several times frustrated by the treasons of his family"

Mr. C. A. Kincaid in his "History of the Maratha people Vol. I" has vindicated Shivaji from the attacks of his foreign critics and traducers, especially as regards his conduct in the Chandrarao More and Afzulkhan tragedies. He displays a far more just sympathy for the Marathas and the great Maratha leader, than is done by Professor Sarkar, who under a guise of analytical criticism traces almost all the actions of Shivaji to the love of plunder and belittles his institutions, though the same analytical examination would go to show that a good many things he has said in the earlier part of his biography are unsaid by him in the last two chapters especially the last ten pages. Compare for instance Jadunath Sarkar's remarks at p. 114 and in the footnote at pp. 366-367 with the confession at page 493, and the imputation of cowardice at pages 223 and 225 with the remark at pages 490 and 492. On the whole the impression produced while perusing Sarkar's book is not that he is writing a life of Shivaji but that he is following the movements of the Mogul armies or interpreting the ill-informed opinions of the European factors at Surat, Rajapore, Bombay or Madras—Vide Professor Takakhav's Life of Shivaji Maharaj, page 566.

In my work entitled "The Marathas and the Moghals" much has been said about the sound work done by the saints of Maharashtra and other parts of India and its aid to Shivaji's career. The following extract from the same work will be interesting to our readers in connection with the religious revival and the consequent political upheaval in Maharashtra and Hindustan:— "Shivaji's enthusiastic and ardent love for his religion and his strict morality are proverbial indeed. They were the outcome of the early influences due to the instructions of the royal preceptor. But Dadoj Kond Dev's advice was not the only force that swayed Shivaji's conduct. The great Maratha leader was also greatly influenced by the spirit of the age, which was the result of the forces called into existence by the saints and poets that did directly as well as indirectly an invaluable service to the cause of the entire Hindu population by their writings and preachings. Shivaji's love for the Hindu religion meant, in other words, his bitter hatred of those who persecuted the Hindus."

It is pleasant to turn from this controversy to the policy of liberal tolerance which Shivaji extended towards Islam and which he sought in vain from Aurangzeb. At the time of the defection of Sambhaji, in the midst of his last campaign against the Moguls, the great king made a stirring appeal to Aurangzeb against the imposition of the Jazia. This letter reveals a lofty outlook on religion and is a passionate plea for tolerance. Shivaji reminds Aurangzeb that even in the Koran God is styled the "Lord of all men", and not the "Lord of Mohomedans" only. "If it be a mosque", wrote Shivaji, "the call to prayer is chanted in remembrance of Him. If it be a temple, the bell is rung in yearning for Him only. To show bigotry for any man's creed is really altering the words of the holy book.—Vide Professor Takakhav, p. 544.

Is there any necessity of more evidence to show that Aurangzeb was more fit for the position of Mulla than for the throne at Delhi? With his growth Shivaji's zeal in the advocacy of the cause of his co-religionists and his hatred for the "Moghal Zulum" rapidly grew and strengthened. His listening to the native ballads and tales of adventure, as well as his keen interest in the Kathas which were conducted by some of the most renowned saintly poets of Maharashtra, went a long way to create in him a desire (which was as strong as it was righteous,) for undertaking the subversion of the power, whose ceaseless endeavours were directed towards the destruction of every thing that was sacred and dear to the Hindus. The nature of the country and the character of the people who joined his standard helped Shivaji greatly in the attainment of his object. The Mawlees, the followers of the Maratha leader, were strong, hardy, and deeply attached to their master, who had been driven or rather roused to undertake the gigantic task of opposing the Moghals, a task which was fraught with great difficulties in the beginning but which was attended with equally great successes in the end. The Punjabis and the Rajputs, the martial races of Northern India, did what they could towards solving this great problem, but only with partial success. Providence seems to have ordained that the Hindus of Maharashtra should be able to grapple successfully with the solution of this mighty question with the help of the Maratha saints.

Now Jnyandev was an outcaste Brahman. By his devotion to God he won his way to the caste and in the end became a saint. It therefore followed, so men said, that in eyes of God caste must be as nothing and that all earthly

disabilities could be overcome by the love and worship of Krishna. Thus Pandharpore came to attract pious men of all castes. The next great saint of Pandharpur was Chokhamela, a Mhar. Savata was of the Mali or gardener caste, Ra ka and Gora were Kumbhars or potters. Rohidas was a Chambhar or leather worker. Narhari was a Sonar or Goldsmith, Kabir was actually a Musulman attracted from the North by the fame of Pandharpur, Namdev, the greatest of all, was Shimpi or tailor. They were all men of holy and austere lives. Their worship of Krishna was eminently pure and sane. Their preaching and their poems stimulated men's minds and led them to seek a refuge from their sorrows at Krishna's shrine. The spots where Dnyandev and his brothers and sister died became centres from which the Pandharpur tenets were promulgated from the Bhima to the Tapti and from Alandi to Saswad. Men who made pilgrimages to these shrines were drawn to each other by their common knowlege of the Marathi speech and of the doctrines of the Pandharpur saints. In this way there came in existence the beginnings of a national feeling. But while the Musalman officials dissipated their vigour in vice and riot, the Hindus, owing to the teachings of the saints of Pandharpur, led clean and manly lives. So it came about that the religious movement made ready the path for the national hero who was to free Maharashtra from the foreign yoke. When he appeared, great beyond human anticipation, religion gave to his genius a fervour which he was able to impart to the comrades of his youth and the peasants of his father's villages. Thus inspired, his half-trained levies fought with the valour of Cortez companions or of Cromwell's Cuirassiers " —Kincaid.

The illustrious Shivaji and the heroic Bajirao I were

in fact, the exponents of the spirit of the age[1]. The subject of this narrative learned, along with Ranoji Rao Sindhia and many others, the first lessons in the arduous task of subverting the tyrannical Moghal power in India from the Peshwa Baji Rao I, whose career of ceaseless activity and patriotic enthuciasm deserve special mention, while dealing with the life and times of Malharji Holkar.

The work done by the Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath in spreading the Maratha power by introducing his well-known revenue system and thereby finding useful employment for the discordant element in Maharashtra, deserves to be remembered by the student of History. Professor H. N. Sinha rightly remarks that 'the first of the House of the Peshwas, was the first and best servant of the House of the Bhonsles'—Journal of Indian History, April, 1928.

Recently an admirable life of Shivaji Chatrapati has been published by Professor Takakhav, who severely comments upon Professor Jadunath Sarkar's "Shivaji and his times" in the following terms :—„ His sympathies are with the Moguls and the commanders of the Mogul Empire. His sympathies a e with the British factors at Surat and Rajapur. His sympathies are anywhere except with Shivaji and his gallant companions. Shivaji has fallen into the back ground. Sarkar's pæans of praise are poured forth in unstinted measure, now in honour of Shaistakhan, now in honour of Jay Singh. Shivaji is at best patronised here and there with a nodding familiarity and spoken of as a familiar underling with the name of "Shiva"—Preface page VI—VII.

How keen and unbearable was the Moghul oppression may be learnt from a perusal of the life of Guru Govind Singh by Bhagat Laxman Singh, pages 6—16. "In Kashmere the Governor Sher Afghan forcibly converted half the population to Islam"—Guru Govind Singh's Life, page 8.

Bhukan's "Shiva Bawani" deserves a perusal from every student of Maratha History.

In fact, Balaji Vishwanath,[1] whose endeavours and exertions secured the Deccan throne for Shahu, is rightly called the "Second founder of the Maratha power." His abler and more enthusiastic son, Bajirao continued his father's work by performing prodigies of valour on the battle-field of Hindustan and shook the throne of Babar at Delhi by humbling and defeating the Nizam-ul-Mulk, Mahammad Khan Bangash and other powerful Moghal Sirdars.

Baji Rao's son and successor, Balaji Baji Rao, was like his grandfather, a successful statesman, a skilful diplomatist and a gentleman of polished manners and amiable disposition. Balaji Baji Rao, known in history as Nanasaheb, surmounted many difficulties by his uncommon ability and in his regime the Maratha power reached its zenith, the Punjab and Bengal, in fact, all Hindusthan having come under the Maratha sway.[2]

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(1) Recent historical research has disclosed some new facts regarding the Peshwas. It is now alleged on sound evidence that the father of Balaji Vishwanth was, during the great Shiwaji's regime, a Sardar in charge of two thousand horse. This circumstance well points out that the Peshwa's rise was not an abrupt one and that the ground for him was already prepared by his father in the days of the great Shiwaji. Vide Mr. Vinayakrao Bhave's Marathi Deftar.

"With the imprisonment of Ramraja, as Mr. Kincaid rightly remarks, the Bhosle epic ends and the Chitpawan epic begins. Here we encounter a fresh type of character. Balaji Vishwanth is a typical versatile Brahman, thanks to whose diplomatic skill Shahu became an independent ruler instead of a vassal of Delhi. Even more remarkable is his son Baji Rao, the real founder of the Maratha Empire, who combined the dash and endurance of a great cavalry leader with consummate administrative ability, far-seeing Statesmanship, and shrewd knowledge of human character"—The Times of India's leading article, Thursday, October 12, 1922.

(2) ".....The unfortunate Prince's (Ramraja's) fall was effected by his grandmother Tara bai. She invited him to celebrate the Champa Shasti

Some inaccurate writers of Indian History have, wittingly or inwittingly, brought the charge of usurpation against the Peshwas. We need not dwell on this point with exhaustive details in this work, as we have discussed this subject fully elsewhere. Messrs Kincaid, Parasnis and Sirdesai have thoroughly exploded the charge of usurpation brought against the Peshwas by writers like Scot-Waring and others.[1] Madhav Rao succeeded his father Balaji Baji Rao in the year 1761 and wiped away the despair and dejection caused by the disaster at Panipat, as we shall see in the coming Chapters.

festival in Satara fort and treacherously imprisoned him. The State was now in utter disorder. One man alone could save it, namely Balaji, the Prime Minister. He did so. While retaining Ramraja as his sovereign, he assumed the entire administration of the kingdom himself and moved the capital from Satara to Poona....." Kincaid. The well-known historian of Baroda Mr. Govind Rao Sakharam Sardesai, has described, in glowing and graphic, terms, the sagacious measures of Balaji Baji Rao and his noble work in expanding the Maratha power. Mr. Sardesai is supported by the Hon'ble Mr. Natu, who considered Balaji Baji Rao as the greatest of all the Peshwas. Vide page 42 of Natu's "Mahadji Sindhia"—With sincere and due deference to these eminent writers, I beg to allege that Baji Rao will, when all the pros and cons of the case are considered, undoubtedly deserve the first place. Vide "the Marathas and the Moghuls" where I have given the views of other writers along with my reasons for such a view.

[1]Scot-Waring says—"The usurpation of the Peshwas, in a country where empires fall and fresh states rise on the ruin, neither attracted observation nor excited surprise. Indeed the transition was easy, natural and progressive. The authority of Balaji Vishwanath was supported by the Shahoo Raja, and confirmed by the enterprise and zeal of his immediate descendents. Under their administration the gigantic plans of the Great Shivajee had been carried into effect. These great acquisitions naturally obtained for the first Peshwas the gratitude and submission of their Maratha subjects." These observations of Scot-Waring are made up of two half truths. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe M.A., the well-known scholar of Indore, has, with conspicuous ability, shown how the charge of usurpation is groundless. Scot-Waring is wrong when he says that the Peshwas usurped the powers. The Peshwa's grand work was certainly an object of admiration That the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao did not usurp power, that the power was forced upon him by Shahu's

About the noble work done by the Peshwas Professor H. N. Sinha says: 'In that age of self-centred cupidity, the Peshwas were the only people every fibre of whose being thrilled with an altruistic ambition of establishing a Hindu sovereignty and to this their ambition, they yoked unflinching fervour, tireless energy and a deep-rooted love of work. Indeed at a time when Maharastra lay exhausted after the twenty five years of warfare, when it was reeking with

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orders, is now clear as day light. On this point the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Kincaid says as follows:— " The Peshwa has been greatly blamed for having deposed the heir of Shiwaji. With what far-sighted prudence he profited by the turn of events, will be told in a succeeding Volume. But the blame surely rests on the Bhosles themselves. It was the quarrels of Tarabai and Shahu that led to the rise of Balaji Vishwanath. It was the sedition of Sambhaji that created the ascendency of Baji Rao. It was the bickering of Sagunabai and Sakwarbai, the monstrous ambition and inveterate malice of Tarabai that led to the sovereignty of Balaji and the fall of the house of Shivaji. To use the well known phrase of Napolean, the first Minister did not take the crown from another's brow. He picked it out of the gutter, where it had fallen."

From the great Shivaji the Peshwas had inherited the sacred task of subverting the despotic Mogul power. This they did very well. The condition of the Hindus is described as follows in the " Life of Guru Govind Singh "— Orders were issued that thenceforward no non-Muslim should be appointed to any civil or Military office; that Lumbardars and Zaildars should all be Hindus; that Sanskrit should not be taught; that Hindus shou'd not be allowed to go on pilgrimage to their time—honoured shrines. He ordered the forcible conversion of the Hindus. The worship of idols was made a crime. The temples of the non-Muslims were demolished and Mosques were substituted in their place. He imposed the Jezya on all his subjects who refused to become Mahomedans. Even the English and the Dutch residents in India were subjected to the same obnoxious impost. The Rana of Udaipur was ordered to allow cows to be slaughtered in his territories "—Vide Talboys Wheeler's History of India, pages 177-78. The founders of the Maratha Empire annihilated the Mogul power that had caused all this "Zulum." Our readers will be interested to learn that even the Sheriff of Mecca and the Shah Abbas of Persia heartily hated Aurangzeb.

partisan blood, torn within and tormented without, and when the cry of the country was great for its relief, and for peace and good will among the country, those men who could ensure these, naturally were destined to rule the country. Both the king and the Ashtapradhan Council failed to do it and hence the rise of the Peshwas was inevitable. From the diabolical indulgence in the civil war they turned the attention of their people to a land outside, rich and flourishing, to conquer it and to establish their suzerainty over it. That is their great service to the state, to Maharastra.'

Malhar Rao Holkar, who faithfully served the four successive Peshwas, Balaji Vishwanath, Baji Rao, Balaji Baji Rao and Madhv Rao I, laid the foundations of the dominions of Indore during his forty-six years' eminently successful and remarkable career.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and Parentage, etc.

Malharji Holkar was born* on the 16th March, 1693 A. D. in the village named Hol, near Jejuri, on the banks of river Nira in the Poona District. His father's name was Khanduji Virkar. His mother came from the family of Bargal, who had settled at Talode in Khandesh District. The surname Holkar takes its origin from the village Hol where this family resided. The original surname of Malharji's family was Virkar. The Virkars were Maratha Dhangars with some importance in the village Hol-Murum, as they held the situation of chowgula under the village Patel.[1] The

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* We give below the horoscope of Malhar Rao Holkar.

जन्मकुंडली.

संमत् १७५० शके १६१५ चैत्र शुक्ल ९ गुरौ २५।११ पुष्य नक्षत्रे ३०।४४ मेषार्के गतांश १ दिन प्रमाण ३०-२८ श्रीसूर्योदयादिष्टं १५।४४.



श्रीमंत मल्हारराव होलकर.

(1) Chowgula means deputy village officer working under the head Patel. In the Indore State Gazetteer by Major Luard page 12, the learned author gives 1694 as the year of Malhar Rao's birth. Our information appears more correct. In a note on the genealogical table procured by Sir C. Wade, Resident at Indore, the village is called Hol-Moram and it is stated that the family-name was at one time Virkar.

family of Bargals [1] also enjoyed some importance of position in the village Talode (in Khandesh) where they resided and maintained themselves by agricultural pursuits and military service [2] under Sardar Kadam Bande. While yet a child of about three years, Malharji had the misfortune to bear the irreparable loss caused by the death of his father Khanduji Holkar. Misfortune, like success, never comes alone. Khanduji's estate was gradually usurped by the relatives and Malharji's mother had to face very hard times indeed. In such straitened circumstances the helpless mother thought that there was no way out of the difficulty except a resort to the aid of her brother Bhojraj Bargal [3] of Talode and she resolved to go there with her child, the hero of this biography. There Malharji and his mother passed their days of distress under the sympathetic guidance of the good-hearted Bargal, to whom

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(1) "The family of Bargals is now extinct. Gautamabai's only brother took service with the Rana of Udepur and obtained a Jageer which descended to his son Bhojraj and to his grandsons Mugoji and Shankar Rao. Ultimately the Jageer was resumed, and after the peace of Mandsaur, the family was stripped of all their possessions, the last member of it dying in great poverty in 1821 or 1822"—Mackay. Mr. Aberigh Mackay follows Malcolm in calling Gautamabai's brother by the name of "Narayanji", which is, however not correct. Gautamabai's brother was Bhojraj Bargal and his son was Narayanji. In the above extract the reader should note this mistake.

(2) ".....Shortly after, Narayan Rao died, and as Malharji Holkar was son-in-law, Ballajee Rao and Bajee Rao Pundit Pradhan exerted themselves in his favour, and obtained an honorary dress from the Sahoo Raja, and took him with them on their expedition against Hindoostan. And in consequence of his services the Pundit Pradhan patronised him; and remaining himself in Malwa, ordered Mulhar Rao to continue his route to the northward. In consequence of which he penetrated as far as the Attock, and levied contribution on the country of Lahore, and then returned to his patron. As a reward for his service, he received, in addition to his former jageers, the country of Mutra, Etawa and Shekohabad." *Scot Waring*.

(3) Malcolm calls him "Narayanji" which does not appear to be correct. The name of the father and the son cannot be the same.

is due the credit of rearing up the child, who afterwards figured so conspicuously not only in the affairs of the Khandesh District but in those of the whole of Maharashtra. Malharji tended the sheep of his maternal uncle, and his mother took much care in looking after the agricultural pursuits of her brother and helper. One day while young Malharji was tending the sheep, a miracle occurred and the hopes of the helpless mother were revived. Malharji, while resting himself under the cool shade of the Banian tree at mid-day, fell asleep and in the mean-time a serpent was seen extending its expanded hood over the head of the young boy. The old mother came with the mid-day meal for her son and was dismayed at the fearful spectacle that awaited her. In hot haste she ran back to her home and informed her brother of the scene. On their return thay found the serpent still waving its hood over the boy's head and tried to rescue the boy from the terrible danger that threatened his life. The serpent withdrew hastily from their presence and they found the boy free from any hurt or injury.(1) The joy of the old mother and her brother knew no bounds when they found that the boy was safe and sound. They interpreted the scene with the help of a Brahman and saw in it the signs of the future glory and greatness of the young man.(2)

(1) This incident was duly related to a learned Brahman, who foretold the future greatness of Malharji Holkar. On this point Mr. Atre says that the Brahman who predicted Malharji's rise from this incident was the founder of the Kibay family of Indore.

(2) "The Cobra is held by the Hindus peculiarly sacred. There is much about the serpent Gods with their jewelled heads etc. in the Mahabharat. The Seythic Naga worship is still a living faith throughout India. A festival, called Nag Panchami, is still celebrated in honour of snakes about the end of June (Sravan). In the pantheon at Athens, a black snake, looked upon as the guardian of the temple, and supposed to be animated by the soul of Ericthonius, was worshipped"—Aberigh Mackay.

Bhojraj Bargal had also an auspicious dream that very night and it served to corroborate the hopes of the old mother and uncle of young Malharji, on whom both of them began to bestow their best care and caresses. Young Malharji was asked to look after the horses of the Bargal family and to learn riding and the use of the lance, which was an indispensable weapon in the warfare of those times.[1] After some time Bhojraj Bargal thought of employing Malharji in the Paga of Sardar Kadam Bande, under whom the Bargal was already serving. Here Malharji learnt his first lessons in military tactics and the art of war and made the best use of the opportunity that had been afforded to him through his uncle's interest. Day by day Malharji's latent qualities began to develop to an eminent degree and he out-shone his compeers both in bravery and hard work and thus attracted the attention of his master Sirdar Kadam Bande to the exultation of his uncle the old Bargal, who had so carefully brought him up. The joy of the old mother was also great when she found that her son was winning such golden opinions from the Sirdar, under whom he served.[2]

(1) The lance of Bajirao I is well known to the student of Maratha History. The excellent portrait of Bajirao I presents the lance in a very prominent way.

(2) Mr. Mackay mentions that at this time Malhar Rao was in the service of the Rana of Burwani and gallantly helped that Chief to resist the in-roads of the Peshwa's cavalry, attracting the notice of his country men, against whom he fought, by his conspicuous valour. There appears however no evidence for this view and it seems to be far from correct, though mentioned by some writers.

CHAPTER II

Entrance into the Peshwa's Service.

India was in a state of political transition and national prostration by the end of the 17 th century. The Maratha power had begun to show signs of revival and expansion under the guidance of Balaji Vishvanath,(1) on whom the Chatrapati Shahu bestowed the highest powers and in whom that king of the Marathas had full confidence. In 1717, Balaji Vishvanath started on an important expedition from Satara, being invited by the Sayyaid brothers at the Mogul Court. The expedition led to the acquisition of signal concessions from the Mogal Emperor and the establishment of Maratha prestige in Northern India. This expedition passed through Khandesh on its way to Delhi and Malharj's ambition was naturally excited to such an extent as to induce him to ask his uncle's permission to join it. Bhojraj Bargal willingly acceded to the proposal and used his influence with Sirdar Phandhere, who accompanied the forces under the Peshwa, in order to bring Malharji's ambitious plans to a successful result. Malharji was allowed to join the expedition as a Silleder in Sirdar Pandhare's Paga. During the expedition Malharji's hot temper brought on him a very serious trouble, which threatend to mar all his future prospects, but through the intercession of Sirdar Pandhare that danger was averted and Malharji had the chance of being brought directly to the attention of the Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath and his eldest son

(1) Vide "The rise of the Maratha power" by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade M. A., LL. B., C. I. E. for details about the grand work done by Balaji Vishvanath. Vide also "The Marathas and the Moguls" by the present writer. "The success which attended Baji Rao was, in truth, the success of Balaji's prudent and far-seeing policy"—Kincaid and Parasnis.

Bajirao I,[1] whom afterwards Malharji served so zealously and faithfully. The Peshwa successfully carried out his plans at Delhi and left an abiding impression and influence on the pomp-loving and outwardly splendid but really demoralized Mogul Court. The expedition returned to Satara and the Peshwa's tactful and skilful achievements were highly appreciated by that kind-hearted and generous king the Chatrapati Shahu, who had so confidently entrusted the delicate mission[2] to Balaji Vishvanath.

Malharji took leave of the Peshwa and Sirdar Pandhare and returned to his maternal-uncle's house in Talode where the old Bargal was rejoiced beyond messure to find the young man coming home with a considerable amount of money and with all the Bargeers and other adherants in good spirits. Bargal, to whom Malharji's dash and bravery and his recent success had given great satisfaction, began to think seriously of marrying his daughter Gautamabai to Malharji which would

(1) "Malhar Rao's courage soon brought him rewards, but he once nearly ended his career by throwing at Balaji Vishvanatha's son Baji Rao a clod of earth, because the latter objected to Holkar's cutting the peasant's crops to feed his horses. Baji Rao was generous enough to ask his father to spare the rough soldier. This generosity Holkar did not forget." Kincaid, Vol. II. P. 186. Bajirao always freely and frankly mixed in military circle. His love for his soldiery is proverbial, but he never allowed his army to commit acts of plunder or oppression to the peasants.

(2) During this expedition Bajirao, the Peshva's eldest son, had many opportunities of learning military work and state-craft. The foundation of the cordial relations which existed between Bajirao I and Malharji Holkar was laid during this memorable expedition of Balaji Vishvanath to Delhi in 1717.

Malharji Holkar's wife Gautamabai deserves special notice. She was exceedingly high-minded and thoroughly pious. She always exerted a benign influence on Malharji Holkar and her noble career greatly helped to form the early habits and traits of character of her daughter-in-law the famous Ahilyabai.

be a further proof of his interest in, and affection for, the nephew, whom the old man had so carefully brought up and trained. That desire was natural and Malharji's recent successful return from the mission strengthened it. The old Bargal, therefore, gave his daughter in marriage to Malharji in spite of the unreasonable protests of his wife, who certainly had not the capacity to measure Malharji's worth.(1) The disapproval of the marital connection which Malharji's aunt had expressed led to an interference with his home life and happiness and of course it led directly to his leaving the house(2) in which he was brought up at Talode and for which he had the most grateful regard. Malharji skilfully prevented an unpleasant situation by obtaining his uncle's permission to go out in search of fresh fields for the maintenance of his troops and the increasing expenses that he had to face. The old Bargal willingly consented to the ambitious proposal and Malharji found, at no distant date, a friendly haven in Burwani, where the chief found the young man to be an exceedingly useful and devoted friend in warding off the inroads of the Maratha army, which laid siege to Burwani. Malharji repulsed the attacks of the Maratha force and kept it at bay

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(1) The marriage proved a happy one, as future events would show. Gautamabai was a sagacious counsellor and often influenced Malharji's private dealings and public acts. She was a disciple of Shree Brahmendra Swami, the Guru of Bajirao I. Vide the "Life of Brahmendra Swamee by Rao Bahadur Parasnis Pages 182—185."

(2) Malharji was very hot-tempered in his youth and could not brook the feminine taunts which Bhojraj Bargal's wife levelled at her high-minded son-in-law, unware of the glorious destiny of her nephew and son-in-law. Vide Atre's Life of Malhar Rao Holkar.

"मल्हारराव होळकरांची पत्नी गौतमाबाई ही फार स्वाभिमानी बायको होती.— Parasnis.

for a long time. The Peshwa was duly informed by the Commander of the Maratha army that Malharji was the helper of the Burwani Chief and that was the main difficulty of the situation. On being apprised of Malharji's co-operation with the Burwani chief, the Peshwa was at once put in mind of what had occurred during the expedition to Delhi and sent a letter to Malharji to bring about a satisfactory concluison of the operations at Burwani.(1) Accordingly Malharji interceded in the affair and established the Peshwa's prestige at Burwani, the Chief of which was prevailed upon to pay tribute and the expenses of the expedition. The Peshwa was highly pleased with the part played by Malharji in the settlement of the Burwani affair in such a satisfactory manner and resolved to take him into the service of the Maratha Raj. The Peshwa sent a message to Malharji to this effect but Malharji requested in reply to the message that any further communication in this respect should be made to his uncle Bhojraj Bargal, who had the sole authority to guide his actions. The Peshwa accordingly sent Baloba Prabhu, a trusted officer in the service of the Peshwa, to Bhojraj Bargal at Talode to negotiate the whole matter. Bhojraj Bargal was rejoiced to receive the honour of such a request from the Peshwa and though old and unwilling to part with Malharji, acceded to the proposal. The uncle and nephew parted with heavy hearts. Malharji started for Poona in company with Baloba Prabhu and paid his homage to his new master, who duly remembered the spirted action of Malharji in the Delhi expedition and was eager to employ such an officer. Thus Malharji entered the service of the Peshwa with the consent of Sirdar Raghuji, elder brother of Kanthaji Kadam Bande. Under Baji Rao

(1) Vide Mackay and Atre. We have expressed our opinion on this point in the preceding pages.

Malharji rose rapidly to greatness.[1] Kanthaji Kadam Bande was delighted with the greater prospects that were thus opened up before the young trooper who had served him so well; and he permitted him to assume the standard of the Bande Family, a triangular flag, striped red and white, and surmounted by pennants. These colours are still borne before the chiefs of the house of Holkar and float above the great gateway of their palace at Indore. This standard is also borne by the Gaikawad of Baroda, who owes much of his greatness to the Bande family.

Just about this time the wise Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath, whose health was broken down by over-work, became seriously ill and repaired to Saswad for some rest. There the "second founder of the Maratha Empire" died on the 2nd of April 1720 to the great grief and discomfiture of the noble-hearted Chatrapati Shahu Maharajah, who had the fullest confidence in, and the highest respect and regard for, the wisdom and work of that Peshwa.[2] Ambajipant Purandare, the sagacious and faithftul Dewan of the Peshwa, foresaw that the Pratinidhi might obstruct Bajirao's succession to the

(1) "After the battle of Balapur (1720) in which he greatly distinguished himself, he smoothed over a quarrel between Baji Rao and Khanthaji Kadam Bande. This pleased the young Peshwa so much that in 1725 he gave Holkar a command of 500 horse in his own service and became greatly attached to him"—Kincaid.

(2) Marshman, in his History of India, pays a glowing tribute to the life work of Balaji Vishwanath by describing him as the Second founder of the Maratha Empire "Mr Justice Ranade has said much in his 'Rise of the Maratha Power' about the glorious work done by Balaji in the cause of the Hindee-pad-Padshatee. Quite recently Mr. Sardesai has given a graphic account about Balaji Vishwanath in his "Main currents of the maratha History"—We have given an extract in the Appendix from this work.

Peshwa-ship, though the Chatrapati was in his favour and he used timely precautions to counteract the Pratinidhi's[1] endeavours. The Chatrapati, however, soon conferred the Peshwa-ship on Bajirao, whose first objective was Malwa, in which Malharrao Holkar rendered splendid help to his master by accompanying him in every expedition. Bajirao, who ever looked upon his officers and soldiers with parental affection, was the foremost to appreciate the sound work and brilliant service rendered by Malharrao, on whom the heroic Pehswa conferred the Sanad for Chowth and Sardeshmukhi in 1725,[2] together with the right to take half of the mokasa for military purposes. This hereditary honour and right, with its

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(1) As regards the views of Bajirao I and the Pratinidhi, the reader will be interested to find that a highly talented English lady has delivered her opinion in the following terms:—

"Now there is no doubt that this son, by name Baji Rao, is after Shivaji by far the ablest Maratha of History. He was a warrior, born and bred in camps, a statesman educated ably by his father, a man frank and free, hardy beyond most, content to live on a handful of unhusked grain, vital to the finger tips. He found himself confronted by a peace party (Pratinidhi and others), who would fairly have pressed to consolidate what had already been won, to suppress civil discord and generally to give a firm administrative grip on the South of India before attempting further conquest in the North. But Baji Rao was clear-sighted. He saw the difficulties of this policy. To attempt the consolidation of what was still absolutely fluid would be fatal. He roused the lazy, somewhat luxurious Shahu to such enthusism that he swore that he would plant his victorious flag on the holy Himalaya.—" p. 237, "India throgh the Ages" by Flora Annie steel.

(2). The Peshwa fixed the respective shares in the following way:- 45 per cent Shreemant, 22½ per cent Sindhia, 22½ percent Holkar and ten per cent Pawar. This scale of division is given in a different manner "Letters, Memoranda. etc." page 534, where the shares are mentioned as 31 per cent for the Peshwa. 30 per cent each for Sindhia and Holkar and 9 per cent for Powar. This difference between Holkar's Kayafiyat on the one hand and Letters, Memoranda,, etc., on the other hand, though slight, is remarkable,

magnificent emoluments, laid the foundation stone of Malhar Rao Holkar's greatness and glory in Malwa[1] and gradually in the whole of Hindusthan. In this manner the great Peshwa Bajirao fulfilled the promise that he had given to Malharji Holkar on the plains of Sipri Kolarus,[2] while the expedition under the Peshwa Balaji Vishvanath was on its way back to Satara and henceforth Malharji became Soobhedar Malhar Rao Holkar, the trusted Sirdar of the Peshwa.

It is but proper to record here that in this great Peshwa's time worthy men like Holkar, Ranoji Sindhia, the Powars, Govindpant Bundele and others came to the front and with a large heart and cosmopolitan sympathy this Peshwa appreciated merit, whenever and wereever it

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(1) The division of Malwa caused much heart-burning in the case of Udaji Powar, who, in the anguish of his heart, uttered the words "अह्मां काय नोकर ह्मणून आह्मांस दहा ? " (Why should ten per cent be fixed as my share ? Am I devoid of valour ?). The sagacious Dewan Ramrao Kawathekar, however, succeeded in consoling his master Powar by giving him wise counsel in following manner:— श्रीमंत तर मुख्य मालकच आहेत, व शिंदे होळकर याजजवळ फौज फाटा फार असून त्यांची नेहमी जयत तयारी असते, तशांत ही पहिल्यानें ज्या वेळीं श्रीमंतांनीं तुमची विनवणी केली, त्यावेळीं त्याचें ऐकून त्याज बरोबर सन्मानानें जर स्वारीस गेला असता तर, इतके हीं बोलणें शोभलें असतें. आतां व्यर्थ कुरकुर केलीं असतां त्यांचा तुमचा बेबनाव होऊन कदाचित पूर्ववत फांटा मिळण्याचा प्रसंग येईल. तेव्हां सध्यां जे झालें आहे तेंच उत्तम समजून त्यांचे बरोबर असत जावें."

Powar was, of course, silenced by this argument. Vide Holkar's Kayafiyat and "Letters memoranda etc."

(2) Sipri and Kolarus are now in the Gwalior State. Sipri has become the summer residence of Maharajah Sindhia, as the climate and water are excellant. It is now Shivpuri.

was found, without any regard for caste, creed or colour.[1] Malharrao Holkar remained in Malwa till 1728, when he was called to Poona by the orders of the Peshwa to take part in important consultations with regard to the expeditions that were to be undertaken against the Nizam and other Mogal Governors.

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(1) Bajirao was certainly above caste prejudices and petty spirit. This noble trait in Bajirao's heroic charater is duly noticed by the author of the "Life of Jivbadada Bakshi".

Mr. Rajadyaksh, author of the "Life of Jivbadada Bakshi," says as follows:—

"बाजीराव साहेब पेशवे खरे परीक्षक असून, शौर्याशिवाय त्यांच्या मध्यें दुसरेही पुष्कळ उत्तम गुण होते. त्यांच्या कारकीर्दीत शौर्य श्री मराठीराज्यांत फिरून अवतीर्ण झाली होती, असें म्हणण्यास हरकत नाहीं. ते गुणांचे चहाते असून, होणत्याही विशिष्ट वर्गास किंवा स्वार्थादि कोणत्याही एकदेशीय स्वभावास वाहिलेले नसल्यामुळें शिंदे होळकरादि बरींच सरदार घराणीं त्यावेळीं उदयास आलीं. आणि त्या योगानेंच मराठीं राज्यांतील जोमदारपणा वाढला"—Life of Jiwba Dada Bakshi.



SHREE BRAHMENDRA SWAMI.

(Guru of Malhar Rao Holkar.)

CHAPTER III.

Influence of Saints.

The influence of Shree Brahmendra Swami and his contemporary Shree Narayan Dixit on the careers of the hero of this narrative and several other Maratha personages is remarkable and deserves a careful attention from the student of Maratha history. Mlhar Rao Holkar was greatly swayed by the waves of saintly exertions in the establishment of Swadharma and Swaraj. What Shree Ramdas Swami was to the illustrious Shivaji, these two saints were to the Chatrapati Shahu, Peshwa Baji Rao, Malhar Rao Holkar and many other leading Maratha Chiefs. Malhar Rao's wife, the sagacious and high spirited Gautamabai, had the highest reverence for saints. Our readers would be delighted to know something regarding the direct and indirect influence which these two famous saints exercised on the political firmament of Maharashtra in those days of national prostration and transition.

Brahmendra Swami was born about the year 1649 A. D. at Dudhewadi near Rajori (well-know owing to its connection with the deity Ganapati) in Berar. His name was Vishnu. His parents Mahadev Bhat and Umabai died when he was only twelve years of age. From his earlier years, he had a propensity for prayers and penance. The deity Ganapati was pleased with his devotion and enjoined on him in a dream to desist from hard penance, blessing him at the same time that he would be a great and revered personage. He travelled far and wide in India and stayed for a long time in Benares, where he was initiated into the highest problems of Vedantism by the

famous saint Dnyanendra Saraswati. After finishing his piligrimage he came to the Satara district about the year 1680 and thence to the village Padhe near Chiplun, now in the Ratnagiri district. Here Balaji Vishwanath Bhat of Shriwardhan met him. About the year 1698 he publicly settled at the Parshram temple, which he resolved to rebuild on a grand scale. Thereafter circumstances led him to remove to Dhawadashi near Satara. He blessed Shahu and Baji Rao in his succession to the Peshwaship. The Pratinidhi also received the Swami's potent aid. The following extracts would show how the Chatrapati Shahu and the Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath were blessed with the spiritual help of this saint:—

(a) "तेव्हां शाहुमहाराजांस चंदन वंदन किल्ले हस्तगत करून तेथेंच प्रतिपक्षाशीं झुंजत कांहीं दिवस राहावें लागलें. हें वर्तमान स्वामीस कळतांच स्वामींनीं आपले कटिसूत्र व कौपीन शाहुमहाराजांस प्रसाद म्हणून पाठविलीं, व त्यांना "तूं यशस्वी होऊन राज्याराम करशील" असा आशिर्वाद दिला. स्वामी भगवद्भक्त, तपस्वी, वरदी, महापुरूष. त्यांचा प्रसाद आपणांस कल्याणकर असें समजून, शाहुमहाराजांनीं तो मोठ्या भक्तिनें ग्रहण केला. तों लवकरच शाहुमहाराजांना विजय प्राप्त होऊन साताऱ्याचीं गादी मिळाली."—Swami's Life by Parasnis page 8.

(b) The Swami was extremely kind to Balaji Vishwanath, as is evident from his letter to Chimnaj Appa, in which the following graceful reference is made about Balaji Vishwanath:-

"नाना (Balaji Vishwanath) माझा होता. हो एकनिष्ठ होता. सभ्यदांचा सला झाला त्यामुळें इतकें अभिष्ठ झालें. दिल्लीची मसलत सुरू झाली."

Shrinivas Parasharam Pratinidhi gave two villages, Dorle and Mahalunge in 1720 to the Swami's Sansthan as Inam. Even the Sidhi chief Yakub Khan, of Jenjira, had the highest reverence for this Swami, on whom the said chief bestowed two villages, Pedhe and Ambdas in Jahageer for the upkeep of the Sansthan of Shree Parasharam at Chiplun.

The Swami's exertions for saving the Hindus from the proselytizing inroads of the Portuguese in and about Wusai (Bassein) are worthy of being noticed. Vide pp. 62-86 of the Swami's Life by Parasanis. Bramhendra Swami, along with Narayan Dixit, heartily enjoined the extension of the Maratha conquest and the protection of the Hindus from the oppression of the Portuguese particularly, and of the Moguls generally.

Some details about the well-known saint Nanayan Dixit Patankar would be quite appropriate in this work. He came from the Konkan, and performed great penances at Paithan. He was deeply versed in Sanskrit and travelled widely throughout India. His fame as a saint attracted the attention first of Balaji Vishwanath and then of the Chhatrapati Shahu, both of whom received his hearty blessings. Narayan Dixit remained mostly in Benares, where there still exists the Dixitpura. The corner of the saint's magnificent house is still worshipped by devout Hindus. An anecdote is still extant regarding the Goddess Annapurna cooking food at his house when he gave a dinner to some thousands of piligrims in the holy city. How this saint insisted on and encouraged Maratha conquest would be known from the following extract:—

".....नारायण दिक्षितानें बाजीरावाजवळ मथुरेसन्निध धर्मकृत्यास दहा गांव मागितले, याचा अर्थ बाजीरावानें तो प्रांत जिंकण्याचा उद्योग

करावा असा दिक्षितांचा उद्देश होता. त्यावेळच्या लौकिक भावना कशा प्रकारच्या होत्या हें यावरून दृग्गोचर होतें....." Sardesais' Panipat Prakaran p. 298. The Dixit was highly esteemed by the Chatrapati, the Peshwa and the Emperor of Delhi.

We conclude this chapter by reproducing two original letters testifying to the powerful influence of these two worthy saints:—

॥ श्री. ॥

(*a*) "वेदशास्त्र संपन्न वासुदेव दिक्षित स्वामीचे सेवेसीं:—

विद्यार्थी बाळाजी बाजीराव प्रधान नमस्कार विनंती, उपरी येथील कुशल जाणोन स्वकीय लिहित गेलें पाहिजे. विशेष दिल्लीकडील वर्तमान, चिरंजीव राजश्री रघुनाथराव व होळकर वगैरे सरदार फौजेसह दिल्लींत सुखरूप पोहोंचलें. वेदशास्त्र संपन्न महाराज राजश्री बाळकृष्ण दिक्षितबाबा यांची स्वारी दिल्लीस आली आहे. त्यांचा बादशाहाचें दरबारांत मानमरातब पुर्वापार आपलें घरण्याचे योग्यतेनुरूप राहण्याची तजवीज राहावी म्हणून निजामउल मुलूख असफजहां, यांस तेथून लिहिलें होतें. चिरंजीव यांनींही, दोन मुक्काम अगादर, दिक्षितांची स्वारी आली आहे म्हणून बादशाहास सूचना केली होती. त्यावरून योग्य तरदूद जाली, व याबद्दल नबाब निजामउल मुलूख असफजहांचें पत्र मजकडेस आलें. त्यांत ते लिहितात कीं "दिक्षित महाराजांस दिल्ली शहरांत आणण्याकरितां लवाजम्यासह पेशवाईस जाऊन आणणेंबद्दल बादशाहाचा मला हुकूम जाला आहे, त्याप्रमाणें आदरपूर्वक सन्मानानें शहरांत आणिलें. बादशाहाचे भेटीचे दिवशीं, वर लिहिल्याप्रमाणें मोठें सन्मानानें शहरांत आणिलें. खुद्द बादशहा दरवाज्यापर्यंत सामेरे येऊन हात धरून नेऊन बसविलें. फार सत्कार ठेविला. बादशहा दिक्षितांसीं बोललें कीं, "राजा शाहूचे जे गुरू व थोरले दिक्षित महाराजांचा पूर्ण आशिर्वाद औरंगजेब बादशहावर जाला असून आपलेच आशीर्वादानें त्या बादशहाईची उर्जीत दशा आहे. आपले वडील पैगंबराप्रमाणें होऊन गेले. तीच योग्यता आपली आहे, तेव्हां आपण येथें येऊन दर्शन दिल्यामुळें आह्मी

आज कृतार्थ जालों." वगैरे भक्तिपूर्वक भाषणें करून फारच गौरव केला. थोरले नारायण दिक्षित महाराजाप्रमाणें सन्मान ठेविला. नंतर पंधरा हजारांचा गांव जहागीर देऊन फरमान करून दिले, व पोषाक, पालखी, मोरचेल, चवरी, जवाहीर वगैरे खिलत दिली. नबाबांनीं लिहिलें:-दिक्षितांस जहागिरच काय? त्यांचें पुण्य बलवत्तर. त्यांस ईश्वराची कृपा व आपण त्यांचे शिष्य तेव्हां त्यांस काय कमी आहे? परंतु रयासतीचें व आम्हीं कृतार्थ व्हावें ह्याकरितां ही यत्किंचित् सेवा केली.' याप्रमाणें पत्र आलें. दिक्षित लवकरच काशीस जातील, शरीरें करून क्षेम आहेत. काळजी नसावा. बरचेवर पत्र येत असावें."

(b) तीर्थस्वरूप श्रीमंत परमहंस स्वामी स्वामींचे सेवेसीः-

अपत्यें सौभाग्यादिसंपन्न सखूबारबाईसाहेब दंडवत विनंती उपरी यथील कुशल जाणून स्वकार्य लिहित गेलें पाहिजे. विशेषः-आपण पत्र पाठविलें तें प्रविष्ट होउन लेखनाभिप्राय श्रवण जाहला. तेथें आशा जे धामणी व सोनगांव ता. खेड प्राणवली प्रांत राजापूर या गावांच्या सनदा पाठवून देणें. तर आपलें मागें पत्र आलें त्यांत मजकूर लिहिला होता जे इंग्रजांची व आपली मैत्री आहे. ऐसी यांसीं प्रस्तुत राजश्री स्वामींनीं आज्ञा केली, त्यावरून राजश्री तुळाजी आंग्रे अंजनवेलीस वेढा घालून बैसले आहेत. तर मैत्रीकी तुळें इंग्रजास सांगून शामलाची (हबशाची) मदत न करीत तो अर्थ केला पाहिजे, ह्मणजे गांव लिहिल्याप्रमाणें स्वामींकडे येतील. रुपयांचा मजकूर लिहिला तरी राजश्री स्वामींची प्रकृती बरी झाल्या उपरांतिक रुपये मागून घेऊन स्वामींचे पाठविलें जातील. रजईचा मजकूर लिहिला तर प्रस्तूत जामदारखान्यांत शाल नाहीं. शाल मेळवून आज्ञेप्रमाणें रजई पाठविली जाईल. आज्ञेस अंतर होणार नाहीं. बहुत काय लिहिणें हे विनंती.

पौछ १७ सफर सन खमस.

CHAPTER IV.

The career of Bajirao is a continual struggle against the Moghals for the expansion of Maratha dominion and almost his whole life was spent in camp, surrounded by his trusted officers Malharrao Holkar, Ranoji Rao Sindhia and others. It is difficult to speak of Malharrao Holkar's exploits without a mention of his master the Peshwa, under whose guidance he served and worked. The career of Holkar and Sindhia[1] is quite indissolubly connected with Bajirao's expeditions and aspirations.

Bajirao led an expedition against the Nizam in 1728, in which Holkar took a conspicuous part. The Peshwa compelled the Nizam to sue for peace, as the latter was hemmed in on all sides by the Maratha forces and all his supplies were cut off.[2] Peace was concluded at last at Palkhed. The Nizam invited the

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(1) Vide "Ranojirao Sindhia" by the present writer for details in this connection.

(2) The reader will learn much about the heroic spirit of Bajirao from "Letters, Memoranda, etc." published by Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Sane, B. A. whose publication of Maratha records in the "Kavyetihas-Sangraha" has been a great help to the student of Maratha history. The Nizam begged Bajirao for supplies to his army, when the noble-minded Peshwa, in spite of differences of opinion in the Maratha officers, sent supplies of food and fodder to the Mougal army. Nizam-ul-mulk ever remembered Bajirao's magnanimity and heroic valour even when this Peshwa had ceased to exist, though the Nizam never ceased from chafing at the Peshwa's rise. The first Peshwa Balaji Vishvanath and the first Nizam Asaf Jah regarded each other as brothers. Vide 'Letters, Memoranda, etc. by Sane page,' 537.

"नवाबाच्या लष्करांत फार महागाई झाली बाजार बंद झाला, त्या समयास त्यांचे वर्णाचा द्विवस झाला तेव्हां नवाबाने बोलाविला पेशव्याकडे



SHRIMANT PESHWA BAJI RAO I.

Victorious Peshwa for a Jaifat (Banquet), the invitation being in the name of the Begum Saheb. The Peshwa accompanied by Malharrao Holkar and other Sirdars, accepted the hospitality of the Nizam. Bajirao conferred a Jageer of twelve Parganas on Malharrao Holkar for good services in this expedition with orders that Holkar should strengthen his military position and attend to the settlement of affairs in Malwa, as Udaji Powar who was in charge of the affairs relating to the Malwa Province, was acting in an indifferent manner and independently of the Peshwa.(1)

Baji Rao had the fullest confidence in Malhar Rao Holkar. When the Peshwa, after the cessation of hostilities, was invited by the Nizam's Begum Saheba, Holkar was one of the two confidential servants who were allowed to attend the Peshwa up to the Zanan Khana. The scene is described by Mr. Atre:—

पाठविले कीं, लष्करांत महागाई झाली आहे यास्तव दाणा किराणा पाठवून द्यावा. त्याजवरून बाजीरावांनी सर्वांस पुशिलें. कोणी मसलत दिली कीं 'या समयीं नबाब काहील होईल तें ऐकून रायानीं उत्तर दिलें कीं, आपला शत्रू अजारी, भुकेला अथवा निजला असतां नाश करणे आमचे शिपाईगिरिस योग्य नव्हे. नव बानें सांगून पाठविले आहे त्यापेक्षां (ज्यास्त गौरव करावा."

(1) It is mentioned in the Poona Diary that in the year 1730-31 the Peshwa wrote a letter to Malharrao Holkar committing Malwa to his charge and stating that he must regularly transmit the dues of the Sirkar. This employment was probably given him to check the growing ambition and insolence of Udaji Powar"—Malcolm page 147. "By an order of the Peshwa, Holkar was associated with Ranoji Sindhia, and directed to collect, on account of Sirdeshmukhi and other Maratha claims, thirty five per cent of the Revenue of Malwa," .....Ibid.

" दुसरे दिवशी निजामाकडून श्रीमंतांस बेगमेचे भेटिस येण्याविषयी निमंत्रण आलें. तेव्हां बाजीराव साहेब बरोबर निवडक पांच हजार स्वार घेऊन भेटावयास निघाले. त्यावेळीं निजाम साहेब औरंगाबादेस होते. शहरापाशीं आल्यानंतर पहिल्या वेशीपाशीं श्रीमंतांनीं आपल्या बरोबरच्या लोकांपैकीं थोडे लोक ठेविलें. याप्रमाणें करीत करीत खुद्द निजामाच्या दिवाणखान्यांत फक्त मोजर लोकांनिशीं गेलें. तेथून पुढें, कसलाही आणीबाणीचा प्रसंग पडला असतां न डगमगणाऱ्या अशा दोन खिजमतगारांच्या वेशानें बरोबर आणलेल्या अत्यंत विश्वासु सरदारांसह, भेट व्हावयाची होती त्या ठिकाणीं गेले. तेथे निजामाचा जनानखाना सोप्यास चिकाचे पडदे लावून आंत बसला होता. खाशा बेगमेची बैठक होती तेथें पडद्या बाहेर लगतच श्रीमंतांस बैठक घातली होती, तेथें जाऊन सलाम करून बसले. दोहों बाजूंस बरोबरचे खिजमतगार उभे राहिले. बेगमेस बाजीराव साहेब स्वरूपानें सुरतवाक देखणे होते त्यामुळें सर्व नायकांस त्यास पाहून अत्यंत आनंद झाला. क्षणभर कुशल प्रश्न झाल्यानंतर बेगमेने श्रीमंतांस उंची पोषाख देऊन एक बादली (भरजरी) वस्त्र दिलें, व पडदा एका बाजूस करून त्यांस आपल्या हातानें विडा दिला. अत्तर नंतर गुलाब वगैरे उपचार झाल्यावर श्रीमंत बेगमेचा निरोप घेऊन निघाले ते मार्गांत जागजागीं ठेविलेल्या सर्व लोकांसह आपल्या लष्करांत येउन दाखल झाले. त्यांच्या बरोबर जे दोघे खिजमतगार होते त्यांपैकींच एक मल्हारराव होळकर हे होत. " Page 26-27

Udaji Pawar and Trimbakrao Dabhade were secretly acting against the Peshwa under the influence of the Nizam's Counsels, and there was reason to believe that the Nizam wanted to foster internal feuds amongst the Marathas. But in Bajirao, the Nizam found a veritable Tatar, an opponent, who could anticipate all the machinations and nets that were spread for the obstruction of the Maratha power. On this point Grant Duff's words deserve to be noticed:— "But for the penetration and vigour of Baji Rao, the artful schemes of Nizam ul-mulk would

probably have unlinked the connecting chain by which Balaji Vishwanath had joined the interests as well as the inclina- of most of the Hindu chieftions of the Deccan."

Before entering into details about the Malwa Province, a passing notice of the battle of Dabhai (1st April 1731) and the nets spread by the Nizam forchecking the onward progress of the Maratha power would be interesting, in as- much-as Sindhia and Malhar Rao Holkar were cons- picuous by their fearlessly and freely withstanding the tem- phations offered by the old Nizam.

Dabhadhe fell a victim to the Nizam's machinations and this circumstance led to the memorable battle of Dabhai. Shahu whole--heartedly supported the Peshwa Baji Rao in the prompt action taken by him for nipping the conspiracy in the bud, whereby Dabhade, Gaikawad, Pawar and others, who had fallen victim to the Nizam's temptations, were effectively brought under control. The salutary result of it was that it became widely known that Chatrapati Shahu would not tolerate the refractory and faithless conduct even of high Sardars like Dabhade and others. Baji Rao's letter to Brahmendra Swamee dated 2nd April 1731 thus refers to the battle of Dabhai:-

महाराजा परमहंस श्री स्वामीचे सेवेसी:—

चरण रज बाजीराव बल्लाळ प्रधान कृतानेक विज्ञापना. येथील क्षेम श्रीकृपे ता. छ. ५ सवाल नजीक डभोई यथास्थित असे. येथील वर्तमान तरी त्रिंबकराव दाभाडे व उदाजी व आनंदराव पवार व कंठाजी रघुजी कदम व पिलाजी गायकवाड व चिमणाजीपंत दादा असे तीस पस्तीस हजार फौजेनिशी अझांसी युद्धास आले. छ. ४ सवालीं युद्ध जाहलें. त्रिंबकराव दाभाडे व जावजी व मालोजी पवार व पिलाजी गायकवाडाचा पुत्र ऐसे

चौधे ठार जाहले. उदाजी पवार व चिमणाची पंत पाडाव जाहले. आनंदराव पवार व पिलाजी गायकवाड व कुंवर बहादर जखमी होऊन पळून गेले, व बांडे पळाले. फौज लुटली, हत्ती पाडाव केले. सारांश स्वामींचे आशीर्वादें फत्ते जाहली. आपणांस कळावें यास्तव लिहिलें आहे. निरंतर स्वामींचें चिंतन करीत असों. सदैव पत्रीं परामृष केला पाहिजे. आपणांकडील नारायणजी ढमढेरे ठार पडले. व आणखीही कित्येक लोक पडले व जखमी जाहले; परंतु कार्य जाहलें कळलें पाहिजे. सेवेसी श्रुत होय हे विज्ञापना."

In his letters to Chatrapati Shahu Baji Rao gives the credit of this victory to his Sovereign's good luck, his guidance and his blessings.

In 1731 Baji Rao repeated his orders to Malhar-Rao Holkar to look after the province and to make a proper Bandobast by incsreasing his army, for the expenses of which Baji Rao conferred a Jageer of 17 more Perganas on Holkar. The Peshwa distinctly disapproved of Udaji Powar's conduct and Malhar Rao Holkar energetically acted up to the wishes of his master in exterminating the evils that were due to the suspicious movements of the Powar Chief, who had the indiscretion to assist Trimbak rao Dabhade, who, instigated by Nizam-ul-mulk, went to the length of fighting a battle with Baji Rao near Dabhai on the 1st April 1731[1]. In this battle

(1) ".....Baji Rao's secret service was excellent and he soon came to hear of the formidable plot and informed King Shahu.....No matter what wrongs Trimbuk Rao Dabhade had, retorted the king to the Deccan leaders, nothing justified his treason with the Nizam and his seditious correspondence with Sambhaji. Dabhade had chosen to have recourse to arms and he would suffer the consequences. The royal resources would be placed entirely at Baji Rao's disposal.....The Peshwa's victory was complete. Jawaji Dabhade, Maloji Pawar and a

Trimbakrao Dabhade was killed, and his army suffered a humiliating defeat. As desired by the Peshawa, Malhar Rao concerted measures to check the course of Udaji Powar's unpatriotic conduct [1] and zealously attended to Malwa, which was now under the Governor named Daya Bahadar.

Baji Rao, who had been in Khandesh, returned to Poona after giving detailed instructions to his brother Chimnaji Appa and Malhar Rao Holkar for wresting Malwa from the Mogals. Afterwards Malhar Rao moved on to Burhanpur with the object of crossing the Nurbada for invading Malwa. The Rajput princes, guided by the fore-sight of Sawai Jayasing of Jaipore, were ready to help the Marathas against the Mogals. Raja Sawai Jayasing of Jaipore, who was a friend of Baji Rao and in frequent correspondance with him, visited Ujjain to pay his homage to Shree Mahankaleshwar, and this visit was an opportunity for concerting the plan of calling in the

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son of Pilaji Gaikawad fell on the battle-field"—Kincaid and Parasnis, Vol. II, page 191.

(1) Baji Rao tried much to gain Powar's good will, but Udaji Powar was inexorable and unyielding. Malhar Rao Holkar was present, when Baji Rao's solicitations and entreaties were disregarded by Udaji Powar in his Camp near Sendhwa (in Khandesh) where Baji Rao had gone with the object of conciliating Powar. Malhar Rao Holkar was highly incensed at the rude conduct of Udaji Powar in disregarding Baji Rao's wise counsels and in high wrath Holkar said:—

"इतकी विनवणी केली तरी ऐकत नाहींत, मर्जी त्यांची, एक कुळंबट न आले तर काय होणार आहे? आपले नशीब आपल्या बरोबर. असे बोलून मल्हारराव्यांनीं श्रीमंतांस हात धरून उठविले व पान सुपारी न घेतां आपले गोटांत जाउन नर्मदेच्या कांठीं जाण्याकरितां लागलीच कुंचाची नौबत दिली."

Marathas for the invasion of Malwa and driving away Daya Bahadur, the Mogal Governor of Malwa.(1) Sawai Jaysing sent Nandlal Mandloi of Indore with the important message from the Princes of Rajasthan to Malhar Rao Holkar. Nandlal Mandloi(2) started with a body of 200 horse and met Malhar Rao who was at Burhanpur on his way to the banks of the Narbada.

Nandlal Mandloi gave the important message to Malhar Rao Holkar. There was an exchange of turbans between them, which was the Hindu Sign of intimate and cordial relations. Holkar told Nandlal that Daya Bahadur would be dealt with first and that then the wishes of the Rajput Princes(3) would be attended to. The main point about finding a fordable passage in the Narbada was solved by the Mandloi, who undertook the task of taking the Maratha army safely across the sacred Narbada without any difficulty. Daya Bahadur got news of the approch of the Maratha army and arranged to guard the passages of the Narbada from his camp

(1) Recently valuable correspondance between the Great Sawai Jayasing ~~of Jayasing~~ of Jayapure and Malhar Rao Holkar has been brought to light. Sawai Jaysing urged Holkar to call Baji Rao to the North with his army for the subjugation of Hindustan and release the Hindus from the yoke of the Mogal tyranny—Sawai Jaysing's patriotic spirit deserves attention.

(2) But it was not until the Rajput Chiefs disgusted at Aurangzib's treatment, invited the Marathas to free them from the Moghuls, that the Marathas gained a permanent footing in the Province of Malwa

(3) The celebrated Rajah Jaysing, prince of Jaypure greatly contributed to the conquest of Malwa, and indeed of Hindustan by the Marathas. The correspodance between this Chief and Baji Rao I would, if obtained, throw light upon this period of history. It is said to have commenced in a communication very characteristic of the times and the parties.

at Dhar. With the help of Nandlal Mandloi and the Chief of Burwani,[1] the Maratha army was able to cross the sacred river Narbada by an entirely different passage at Akbarpur between Maheshwar and Dharampuri, and thus to baffle the expectations of Daya Bahadur Chimnaji Appa, accompanied by Malhar Rao Holkar, proceeded up the Ghats and was joined on the way by the force under Udaji Powar, who was persuaded by his Dewan Ram Rao Keshav Kawthekar to take advantage of the opportunity of conciliating the Peshwa, whose power was becoming irresistible. Udaji Powar was cordially received by Chimnaji Appa and Malhar Rao Holkar in spite of the insult which the Powar had offered to Baji Rao at Sendhawa. The whole force marched to Mandawgarh.[2] The Marathas, and the Mongal army under Daya Bahadur met in battle at a place named Tirala, midway between Dhar and Amjhera. Daya Bahadur was killed and the Mongal army was defeated on the 12th of October 1731 in this memorable battle of Tirla.

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(1) The relations between the Burwani Chief and Malhar Rao Holkar are worthy of being remembered.

(2) The reader will find many interesting details about the Maratha invasion of Malwa in General Sir John Malcolm's work "Memoirs of Central India," pages 58-96. Malcolm had taken great pains to collect information from the Daftar of the Pawars of Dhar and the local Jameedars, and although in some places he is not quite accurate, it must be admitted by all that General Malcolm has rendered a great service to Indian History inspite of his errors. Indian Scholars have not yet surpassed Malcolm by their work, though it is worthy of mention that Rao Bahadur Sane, Rajwade, Khare, Parasnis and Sardesai have done admirable work in the field of Maratha Historical research.

Chimaji Appa's letter in connection with the battle of Tirla is published in the Life of Brahmendra Swamee by R. B. Parasnis. Its date is 24-4-1730 and it is interesting.

श्रीमत् परमहंस स्वामींचे सेवेसी

अपत्ये चिमाजीनें कृतानेक सा. नमस्कार येथील क्षेम ता. वैशाख वद्य तृतीया पावेतों स्वामींच्या आशिरवादेंकरून सुखरूप असों विशेष. तीर्थरूप राजश्री रायांनीं माळवा प्रांतांत पाठविलें होतें. त्यास दया बहादूर युद्धास आला. स्वामींच्या आशिरवादानें त्यास पराभवातें पाठविलें. सांप्रत फिरोन देशांस आलों. आजच पुण्यास आलों. तीर्थरूप राजश्री राऊ बुंदेलखंडांत छत्रसालच्या साह्यास गेलें आहेत. महमदखान बंगसाचें यांचें युद्ध मांडलें आहे. स्वामींचा आशिरवाद मस्तकीं आहे तेणें करून तेही यश घेऊन लौकरच माघारे येतील. स्वामींचें आशिर्वाद पत्र आल्यानें फार संतोष होईल. सेवेसी श्रुत होय हे विज्ञापना पौ. छ. ९ जिल्काद सन सलासीन."

Grant Duff gives 1732 as the year of the battle of Tirla. It does not appear to be correct. Sardesai gives the date as 12-10-1731 in "मराठी रियासत मध्यभाग."

The battle of Tirla in 1731 made the Marathas masters of Malwa[1]. The Peshwa appointed Vithuji Bulay to look after the affairs of Dhar and Malhar

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(1). The Maratha invasions of Malwa appear to have begun from 1696 A. D. though on a feeble scale. The enthusiastic advance towards Malwa and Hindustan generally was undertaken by Baji Rao I and carried to a successfull termination. Malcolm's account is basad, inter alia, on the record of the Jamidar of Mandoo. Scott, in his history of the Deccan, says:-".....The expedition into Dhamoonee, a district of the Sagar province under Bhivrao Krishna, in 1702 A. D. was the first occassion on which the Maratha crossed the Narbada,-" "As far back as 1698 Udaji Powar had raided Malwa and camped at Mandu'—Kincaid and Parasnis.

Rao Holkar established Maratha Rule in the sacred city of Ujjain. In the year 1732 Malhar Rao Holkar obtained Indore, then a small town, by the Peshwa's orders for his Khasgi, which deserves to be described with some detail as it was a special Inam for Holkar's services. A full account of Khasgi is given later on in a separate Chapter.



An admirable account of the Marathas in Bandelkhand will be fouud in Rao Bahadur Parasnis' work Marathyanche Parakram Page 81.

By the terms of Chatrasal's will his eldest son Hirdesa received territory yielding a revenue of 42 lakhs. Within his portion were Panna, Kalinjar, Mhow, Irich and Dhamoni. Chatrasal's second son Jagatrai received country yielding 36 lakhs. Within his borders fell Jetpur, Ajayagad, Charkari, Banda and Bijawar. To the Peshwa were bequeathed lands that yielded 33 lakhs. Within his borders fall Kalpi, Sagar, Jhansi, Sironj and Hardenagar. The will contained the following three clauses :—

1. With the exception of expeditions beyond the Jamna or the Chambal, both brothers (i. e. Hirdesa and Jagatraj) should join Bajirao Sahib in every campaign and should share in the plunder and conquered lands in proportion to the troops provided by them.

2. If Bajirao should be involved in Deccan warfare, the two brothers should defend for at least two months the frontiers of Bundelkhand.

3. King Chatrasal has looked on Baji Rao Sahib as his son. Baji Rao Sahib must therefore guard his (Chatrasal's sons) as if they were his blood brothers.

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attention, whereby his rapid rise was secured and Bundele's success justified the Peshwa's wise selection.

Baji Rao put in charge of his Bandelkhand estate Govind Ballal Kher, a Karhada Brahman. He was the son of Narsipantbaba Kher, the Kulkarni of Burmad, in Ratnagiri. He was adopted into the family of Balaji Govind Kher, the Kulkarni of the neighbouring village of Nevaren. On his adoptive father's death, he was robbed by his adopted relations and forced to take refuse with his natural family. Afterwards he obtained the office of Shagird or personal attendant in the Peshwa Bajirao's service. Once when Baji Rao was unable to obtain firewood, Govindpant Kher took some funeral pyre of a corpse and served his master an excellent dinner. Struck with his servant's resourcefulness, the Peshwa promoted him to a military command. In it he did so well that his further advancement was assured. In 1733 Baji Rao appointed him as his agent and afterwards as governor of his possessions. He assumed the name of Govindpant Bundela. As we shall see hereafter, Govindpant fell on the field of honour shortly before Panipat"—Kincaid, page 225.

While returning from the Bundelkhand expedition, Baji Rao halted at Jaypure to see his friend Sawai Jaysingh, who received the Peshwa and Malhar Rao Holkar with magnificent hospitality. The Rajah gave thirty lakhs of rupees to the Peshwa with many other gifts.(1)

(1) Mastani, a celebrated beauty of her time, is said to have come to Baji Rao on this occasion. Another account relates that Mastani was the daughter of a Pathan Sirdar and that her mother equally famous as a beauty, was taken into the Zanana by the Nizam-ul-mulk. "The second tale is that the Nizam gave her as a present to the great Minister"— Kincaid, page 264

Baji Rao returned to Poona in 1735 along with Malhar Rao Holkar. The Peshwa conferred fresh marks of favour upon Holkar by giving the latter the honour of Jaripatka. Holkar was, at this very time, given a Karbhari. Sindhia's rise, according to Holkar's Kayfiyat, is said to be due to Malhar Rao Holkar's recommendation but this appears to be doubtful for various reasons (1)

Ganghardhar Yeshwant Chandrachood, of Nimgaon, was appointed by the Peshwa as Karbhari to Holkar. Sindhia and Holkar left Poona for their respective duties in Malwa after being invested with the honour and dignity of Saranjami Sardars by the Peshwa, who strenuously advised them both to strengthen the Martha rule in Malwa and other parts of Hindustan.

After the return of Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Rao Sindhia to Malwa, their Karbharies Gangadhar Yeshwant Chandrachud and Ramchandra Baba Sukhtankar began the work of making proportionate divisions of the income of that Province. The respective shares of Shreemant (the Peshwa), Sindhia, Holkar and Powar were as follows:—

45 Percent for the Peshwa. 22½ percent for Sindhia, 22½ percent for Holkar and 10 percent for Powar,

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(1) Vide "Life of Ranojirao Sindhia," by the present writer Pages, 34-36, where this subject is discussed in details. Although great intimacy existed between Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Rao Sindhia and their families, and at one time Malhar Rao Holkar did speak to the Peshwa in favour of Ranoji rao Sindhia, yet it would be inaccurate to say that Sindhia owed his rise to Malharrao Holkar.

on the total income of the Province[1]. Though Grant Duff differs this Statement appears more reliable.

In 1736 Baji Rao undertook the famous expedition to Delhi and Malhar Rao Holkar accompanied the Peshwa together with Ranoji Sindhia. The consequences of this expedition were of great significance and the decaying Mongal power received a death-blow.

Baji Rao arrived at Agra with his force, when intelligence reached him that the Vazir Sadatkhan was coming to oppose the Marathas. Malhar Rao Holkar, accompanied by Vithuji Bulay crossed the river Jumna and made his presence felt throughout the Doab. Sadatkhan wrote grandiloquent reports to the Emperor about his success but further events showed that the Vazir was simply deluding the imperial court now plunged in a round of gaiety.[2] Holkar distinguished himself greatly and won the Peshwa's favour, as the coming pages will show.

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(1) Sindhia and Holkar were ordered to keep aedquate force and maintain the Maratha power and prestige in due dignity.

" The whole of Malwa, esterrated at about one hundred and fifty lakhs of annual revenues, with the exception of about ten lakhs was divided between Holkar and Sindhia that is seventy five and half lakhs were conferred on the former, and sixty five and half lakhs on the latter. The remaining ten lakhs were held by various Jageerdars, of whom Anandrao Powar was the most considerable"—Grant Duff.

(2) "Baji Rao who regarded the imperial commander with just contempt, moved in every direction, as if no army opposed him. He levied a large contribution from the Raja of Bhadavar, while Malhar-Rao Holkar with a great body of horse crossed the Jumna and

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The Emperor was so far misled by the Vazir Sadat Khan's false reports that he asked the Peshwa's Vakeel to withdraw from the Delhi Court.(1) The Peshwa's Vakeel arrived in the Maratha camp and related the whole affair to Baji Rao, who resolved to march on to Delhi accompanied by Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindhia and prove to the Imperial Court that the Marathas were still in Hindusthan. While on their way to Delhi, the Maratha force found an opportunity

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sacked the towns of Akbarabad and Sayadabad. In the imperial army there were neither courage nor capacity, but Sadatkhan, the Governor of Oudh, had still some enterprise left. In March 1737 he surprised Malhar Rao Holkar and inflicted on him a severe reverse. Holkar fled across the Jamna, losing a numer of men in the crossing. With the remains of his army Holkar rejoined Baji Rao. Sadatkhan wrote to Delhi so exaggerated an account of his success, that the emperor and his advisers thoght that all danger had passed"—Kincaid,

(1) The Imperial army, commanded by Burhan-ul-mulk, defeated Malhar Rao Holkar at Moota Bag, near Agra, to which place he had come after ravaging the Duab. The Maratha chief with difficulty escaped, and jointed the Peshwa Baji Rao at Gwalior.

" In one of the first incursions of Baji Rao into that region. Holkar was among the Chiefs who plundered the celebrated fair at Kalka Bhawanee, within 15 miles of Delhi. where the weak Emperor Mohomad Shah was then residing. The Marathas on this memorable and bold incursion showed their contempt of the Mohamadan power, hanging a hog over the bridge near Humayan's tomb, The booty they took was great and Malhar Rao obtained on this occasion a share of wealth and fame which completely compensated for the disconfiture he had sustained a few months before from the Imperial army"—Vide Malcolm, Pages. 148-49.

"While this absurd story (Sadatkhan's report) reached Baji Rao, he observed grimly "I shall prove to the emperor that he has not heard the truth, by showing him Maratha horse at the gates of Delhi.—Kidcaid, Pages 222, Vol, II.

to wreak vengaence on the Mogals who had persisted in cowslaughter. The annual fair in honour of the Goddess Kali was still going on near Delhi and Malhar-Rao inflicted a defeat on the Mogal force that was there.

The news of this defeat soon spread in Delhi and reached the cars of the Emperor and the Imperial Court. No sooner had this news been received by the Emperor than it was reported to him that the Marathas under Baji Rao[1] had arrived at the gates of Delhi and were prepared to attack the city. The Imperial Court was thrown into confusion and dismay and the Emperor totally unnerved. Baji Rao ordered Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Rao Sindhia to be ready for the emergency and the Maratha army energetically and enthusiastically prepared for fight.

Baji Rao sent a letter to the Emperor asking whether he wished to come to terms or prepare for the fight. The Emperor replied to the effect that he was ready to conclude a peace and that a Vakil might be

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(1) "The Peshwa Baji Rao, who had been secretly aided in the enterprise by Jaysingh, returned by the way of Kotah, and had an interview with that Rajput prince, who, with others of this tribe agreed to transfer their tributes to the Marathas; and on Baji Rao's proceeding to the Deccan, the tasks of realizing this revenue, and of prosecuting military operations, were committed to Malhar Rao Holkar"—Malcolm.

Our readers should particularly bear in mind the great regard the Rajput Princes entertained for Baji Rao I, who ever maintained very cordial relations with the Rajputana chiefs. Balaji Baji Rao

sent to settle the terms. The Peshwa declined to send a Vakeel until the Emperor gave security for the Vakeel's safety. While these negotiations were going on, the Peshwa moved his camp towards Zeeltal in order that the citizens of Delhi might not be put to trouble by the Maratha soldiers. Before any decision was arrived at regarding the negotiations about the conclusion of peace, the Imperial army under Muzferkhan, Meer-Hussen and Raja Shivasing came forth with 8000 foot to attack the Maratha camp. Sayaji Rao Jadhav, whom the Peshwa had despatched to reconnoitre the situation and get intelligence about the enemy's movements, informed Baji Rao that the Imperial army was advancing for battle. A severe fight ensued.(1) Meer-Hussen was wounded and Rajah Shivasingh killed in the engagement. The Mogul army fled in a disorderly manner and their commander Muzaffaakhan effected his escape in a disgraceful way.

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followed in the footsteps of his heroic father. But the successors of Balaji Baji Rao did not keep up the same cordial relations. See "Mahadji Sindhia" by the present writer.

(1) "Baji Rao sent out a few horseman to meet Ameer Khan and concealed his main army. The comman Maratha artifice tempted one of Amir Khan's generals, named Meer Hussain Khan, to charge out into the open plain. Directly Meer Husain Khan and his men were beyond the range of the cannon on the Delhi walls, the Maratha horse under Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Rao Sindhia wheeled round, killed, and wounded six hundred imperialists, including Meer Hussain and drove the rest back into the City—Kincaid. In one of the incursions, Holkar took the baggage of Mulaka Zamani, the Queen of Mohomed Shah, and the Holkar family preserved with great care, until the death of Ahilyabai, two substantial records of this victory. The one was a carriage, Rath, the curtains of which were embossed with pearls and the other a comb richly ornamented with Jewels, and worth about a lakh of Rs.—Vide Malcolm for details.

The Maratha army had attacked the Moghal forces from three sides, and Baji Rao, Ranoji Rao Sindhia and Malhar Rao Holkar led the three divisions. The Maratha victory dispelled the delusion of the Moghal Court and the Emperor sent pressing solicitations for peace, which was, at last, concluded, the emperor agreeing to pay 13 lakhs as war expenses together with the grant of the province of Malwa.(1) The Peshwa returned to the Deccan with Malhar Rao Holkar, as the affairs in the Konkan Districts required careful attention and the presence of Baji Rao on the scene was considered by the Chatrapati as quite essential.

Our readers would be highly delighted to read the important letter, dated the 5th April 1737, written by Baji Rao to his younger brother Chimnaji Appa in connection with the false reports of the Vazeer Sadat Khan and the Delhi Court affairs. We give below the translation of the said letter from Mr. Kincaid's Maratha History Volume Second. Baji Rao's Letter is given in the Appendix:—

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(1) The Delhi Court was so unnerved by the Peshwa's activity and rapid movements that the emperor and his Courtiers began to consider seriously the solicitations of the Nizam for curbing the Maratha progress. Certainly the Nizam was now a "pardoned rebel," and it was humiliation to the imperial Court to send him flattering messages. But danger had softened the Emperor Mahomed Shah's deep-rooted hatred for Nizam-ul-Mulk, whose views of aggrandizement and independence were already known at Delhi. The only man who could save the Moghal power, so thought the worthless courtiers of Mahomad Shah, was the Nizam. Hence the Nizam, the "pardoned rabel" received at this time the greatest attention and deference from the imperial Court.—Vide Elphinstone, Grant Duff, and Kincaid.

Camp Sawai Jayanagar (Jaipur)
8th of the dark half of Vaishakh
moon 15th Jilhej.

To Appa—After compliments. You must have already learnt from our letters sent with Kasis (special couriers) in which I have given in detail the news of our having left in Bundelkhand all our followers in charge of Prince Jagatraj and of the action with Sadatkhan. Sadatkhan crossed the Jamna and arrived at Agra. If we were to meet him there we were not sure of defeating him owing to his advantageous position there. If we were to wait at the confluence of the Jamna and the Gambhir, that place was also unsafe owing to landslips and erosions. Besides Khan Dauran and Mohamed Khan Bangash were on their way to Agra from Delhi, and in case they and Sadat Khan happened to join, it would have been a serious affair. So it was not thought proper to encamp at the confluencc. Further, Sadatkhan wrote to the Emperor and his courtiers that he had routed the Maratha army that had crossed the Jamna, killing two thousand cavalry and drowning two thousand in the river; that Malharji Holkar and Vithoba Bule had fallen in the action. Such had been the result of Baji Rao's invasion ! He further vauntingly wrote that he would cross the Jumna and defeat the Marathas and drive them away beyond the Chambal. The emperor expressed great satisfaction at this and sent to Sadat Khan a dress of honour, a pearl necklace, an elephant and an aigrette. Clothes of honour were also presented to Sadat Khan's Agent at the Delhi Court. Thus Sadat Khan strengthened his and

his party's influence with the emperor. He also wrote to several nobles in contemptuous terms about Marathas. Dhondo Govind (Peshwa's Agent at Delhi) kept us informed of all these particulars from time to time. In short, Sadat Khan tried to impress the Moghal court that the Maratha army had neither spirit nor energy and that he had completely defeated it. You are already aware how things pass in Moghal politics. No action and high talk is their motto. The emperor fully believes all this but he must now be disillusioned. This could be done in two ways—either to inflict a crushing defeat on Sadat Khan or to march on Delhi and to set fire to the capital, and thus disprove Sadat Khan's boastful statements. We accordingly decided to march against Delhi as Sadat Khan would not leave Agra, and setting fire to the capital bring to the notice of the emperor the existence of the Marathas. With this determination we strarted for Dehli on the 26 th Jilkad (18th March 1737). Leaving aside the imperial route we followed the hilly tract along the Newati frontier through the territory of Daman Sing, Chudaman Jat. Dhondopant our Vakil was with Khan Dauran. Sadatkhan sent a word to Khan Dauran:- " I have defeated Baji Rao's army. His followers have fled away and Baji Rao himself has crossed the Chambal. Now why do you flatter him and with what object ? Why should you entertain his Vakil at your court ? He must be now dismissed." Dhondopant was accordingly sent away. He then came to us. Kamruddin Khan, Azmulla-Khan and others encountered us, but we did not meet them. Leaving them 14 miles off to our right, we arrived at Delhi on the 7th Jilhej (28th March) after forced marches of 40 miles each. We pitched our camp

near Kushbandhi (a suburb of Delhi) leaving Barapula and Kalika temple to our right. We wanted to burn the capital to ashes but on second thought we saw no good in destroying the mighty city and ruining the imperial throne at Delhi. Moreover the emperor and Khan Dauran desired to make peace with us but the Moguls would not agree to it. An act of outrage however breaks the thread of politics. We, therefore, gave up the idea of burning the capital and sent letters to the emperor and Raja Bakhatmal. Two elephants, some horses and camels coming out from the city were however captured by our advanced guard. Some of our soldiers had a scuffle with the people from Delhi, who had gone out to attend the Bhawani fair. Next day, Wednesday, 30th March, Raja Bakhatmal sent a reply under commands of the emperor, asking us to send Dhondopant to the imperial court. We did not, however, despatch him as there was a great commotion in Delhi owing to our presence near the capital; but we sent a word in reply. "We are sending Dhondopant, please send a strong guard under a reliable officer to escort him. We are marching on to the Zil Tank as our presence near the city is likely to disturb its peace." And we moved on. As we were passing the capital a force consistng of 7 to 8 thousand men was sent by the emperor under Nawab Mir Hasan Khan Koka, Commander of the Khas Chowki, Nawab Amir Khan, Khoja Roz Afzul Khan, Raja Shivsingh Jamadar, Commander of the cavalry, Muzzfurkhan, Deputy-General, Nawab Muzfur Khan, brother of Khan Dauran, who met us near Rikabgunj outside the city. Satwaji Jadhav who commanded the advance guard met the Moghal forces and a fight took place

between them. On hearing this we sent forces to help him under Malharji Holkar, Ranoji Shinde, Tukoji Pawar, Jiwaji Pawar, Yeshwant Rao Pawar, Manaji Payagude and Govind Hari. They gallantly fought with the Moghals and completly defeated them. Raja Shivsingh and ten other noblemen were killed; Nawab Mir Hasan Koka was wounded and about three hundred soldiers from the emperor's army were killed and four hundred wounded. Roz Afzul Khan, Amir Khan, Muzfur Khan fled to the capital. We captured two thousand horses, though five or six thousand fled away. Indroji Kadam from Ranoji Shinde's cavalry received a bullet wound by which two of his fingers were cut off. No other person of note on our side was killed but some men and horses were wounded. We then encamped at the Zil Tank. About two hours before sunset news came that Kamruddin Khan had arrived from Padashahpur. We at once started to meet him. A fight took place. Yeshwantrao Pawar captured an elephant that was within a gun-shot from the Mogul artillery. A number of horses and camels came to our camp when it was sunset. We wanted to besiege the Mogul army on all sides and give them a crushing defeat next day. But we could not do so as there were several difficulties in our way, the Zil Tank was about 32 miles off from us, Kamruddin Khan was to our right and in our front was the capital. Besides this, the news of our march on Delhi reached Nawab Khan Dauran, Sadat Khan, and Mahomed Khan Bangash on Tuesday the 7th of Zilhej (28th March) at Radhakund. They left behind their heavy baggage and immediately proceeded to Badel about 64 miles dis-

tant with an army of about twenty-five to thirty thousand strong. Next day they halted on the rivulet of Alawardi about 50 miles off. On Thursday morning Khan Dauran, Sadat Khan and Bangash were to join Kamruddin Khan. The situation then would have been perilous, as the capital was near. We, therefore, left the Moguls and halted at a distance of 8 miles. On our side Firangoji Patankar was killed by a bullet. A few men and some horses were also wounded. The Mogul casualties amounted to from 5 to 10. On Thursday Sadat Khan, Khan Dauran, and Bangash joined Kamruddin Khan. Their camps were spread from Alawardi to the Zil Tank. We designed to draw the Moguls on us and then to fall back and defeat them. With this object we broke the camp and moved on via Revad, Kotputali, and Manoharpur. The news has come that the Moguls have not as yet left their camps between Alawardi and Zil Tank and that Mir Hasan Khan Koka who was wounded in the first action has died. Khan Dauran wrote letters after letters to Sawai Jaising to send reinforcement. He has, accordingly, started with a force of fifteen to sixteen thousand men and artillery and has arrived at Basava. He intends visiting Khan Dauran. Sawaiji has also sent us friendly letters, requesting us to leave his territory undisturbed. Our agent, Venkaji Ram, is in his camp. He writes these letters to us. We do not disturb his territory, as we expect to get supplies of grain and fodder from Sawaiji on our way. Abhayasing is at Jodhpur. Now we are going to collect our dues from the Gwalior and Bhadavar Provinces. If the Moguls still pursue us, we shall harass them and reduce them by driving them by force from place

to place and utterly crush them by the grace of our king (Raja Shahu) and the blessings of our ancestors. Be not anxious on our account. The chief thing to be noted is that the emperor and Khan Dauran wish to make peace with us while the Moguls are striving to defeat us, and Sadat Khan is at their head. If by the favour of God his vanity is subdued, everything will be to our satisfaction. If the terms of peace are favourable we shall accept them. Otherwise we shall not conclude any peace. We have annexed the territory about Delhi. The territory about Sonpat and Panpat beyond the Jamna still remains with the Moguls. We shall plunder and capture it soon and see that the Moguls will be starved. We shall write to you later on what happens here. If perchance the Moguls remain in possession of Delhi we shall go to Agra and enter into Anterved (districts between the Ganges and Jamna) and ravage the whole territory. If Nizam-ul-mulk rises and crosses the Narbada, fall upon his rear and harass him as previously advised. On this side none is to be afraid of. Let there be none whom we need fear. It will be better if the Nizam is held in check. I close this with my blessings to you. Continue to love me as ever. (Parasnis' collection).

CHAPTER VI.

The Battle of Tal Bhopal.

1737—1738.

The Peshwa had to return to Satara to consult the Chatrapati with regard to the Konkan districts and consequently he could not take full advantage of his victory at Delhi in 1736. The Imperial Court thus found an opportunity to concert measures for making warlike preparations during the absence of the Peshwa and his Sirdars Malhar Rao Holkar, Ranoji Rao Sindhia and others. The old Nizam, who had never missed an opportunity to act against the Maratha power by various stratagems, was called from the Deccan and was requested to guide the Imperial Court in their endeavours to resist[1] the rising influence of the Marathas under Baji Rao.

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(1). "Nizam-ul-mulk had been watching with concern the extraordinary progress of the Maratha arms. The stern old soldier feared that the emperor, who had never forgiven his desertion, might well confer on Baji Rao the Government of the Deccan. The Nizam would then have to defend his province against the united onslaught of the Marathas and the imperial army. He had, during Baji Rao's recent campaign, adopted so threatening an attitude that Baji Rao had written to his brother Chimnaji Appa, ordering him to watch with a large force the Nizam's movements. 'If he attempts,' wrote the anxious Pehswa, 'to cross the Narbada, fall instantly on his rear and put heel ropes on him.' The threat of an attack from Chimnaji's army kept the Nizam within his own borders. But after Baji Rao's retreat he let the emperor know that he was willing to defend the Mogul throne."—Kincaid, Vol. 11, page 230.

Baji Rao was duly informed of all these turnings of the political wheel at Delhi.(1) He issued instructions to all the Maratha Sirdars to be ready for the struggle with the Moguls headed by the old Nizam. The Marathas generally considered Dusserah as the most auspicious day for setting out on an expedition and the Dusserah of 1736 was signalized by Baji Rao's starting from Poona with Malhar Rao Holkar and other Sirdars for measuring their strength with the Moguls. After crossing the Narbada the Peshwa heard, while approaching the province of Malwa, that the Nizam was encamped at Bhopal with a strong force. The Peshwa gave orders that the Maratha army should be divided into several parties which should hem in the Moguls on all sides, thus cutting off their supplies and harassing them by repeated sallies.(2) Malhar Rao Holkar greatly distinguished himself in the engagement with the

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(1) "On the flight of Mohomed Khan Bangush, the emperor appointed as his successor Raja Sawai Jai singh of Jaipur (1734). But the Rajput chiefs no longer deemed it an honour to serve the Mogul. They now aspired to secure complete independence and fancied that they saw in the growth of the Maratha power, the best means to obtain it.....At last both the emperor and his minister thought that it would be better to give up Malwa and Guzarath, if by so doing they could save the northern provinces. But Baji Rao in the full tide of success, would not sell peace, save at a price that even the trembling emperor hesitated to give. He demanded the alienation of the whole province of Malwa together with Allahabad, Benares, Gaya and Mathura. In addition he asked for an immediate payment of 50 lakhs or an assignment to that amount on Bengal."—Kincaid, 221.

(2) "A pool, hardly two miles long, survived the ruin (of the the Lake of Bhopal) and with it to guard his rear and a river to guard his front the Nizam awaited Baji Rao's onset.....At last Malhar Rao Holkar and Yeshwant Rao Pawar succeeded in getting

Mogul army under the Rajah of Kotah and Abdul Mansurally and the prowess displayed by Holkar was highly appreciated by Baj Rao. Ranoji Rao Shidhia also acted very admirably and won the Peshwa's good will. The Nizam was at last, so far humbled that he sent a blank paper, signed and sealed by him, and besought Baji Rao through Ranoji Rao Sindhia to write out any terms which the Nizam was willing to accept and act up to. The Treaty was signed on the 11th February 1738.

The Nizam agreed to pay 50 lakhs as the expenses of the expedition and to cede all the territory between the Chamble and the Narbada. On the 11th of February 1738 the Peshwa raised the siege and allowed the Nizam to escape once more from the Maratha grip. Baji Rao returned to the Deccan, laden with honour and glory, in which Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranojirao Sindhia had gained a conspicious share by performing prodigies of prowess to the entire satisfaction of the heroic Peshwa. (1)

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between Safdar Jung's Contingent and the Nizam's camp and forced Safdar Jung to retreat northwards. The Nizam wrote for help to Delhi, but in vain.....The Nizam resolved to buy off Baji Rao at any price—" Kincaid, page 232, Vol. II.

(1). "The Battle of Tal Bhopal" is, as the reader will gather from these pages, a most important event in the heroic career of Baji Rao. Even at the cost of repetion we mention the fact that the Nizam was finally vanquished in his efforts to help the emperor against the Marathas. In the absence of adequate material it is not possible to give the details about the operations at Bhopal, where the Nizam's ambition received its final blow from Baji Rao. Never again the Nizam Asaf Jah thought of measuring his strength with the Marathas till the end of his life in 1748.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BASSEIN (WASAI) EXPEDITION.

The Chatrapati Shahu had received so alarming and repeated appeals from the Hindu population of the Bassein districts that the kind-hearted Chatrapati could not turn a deaf ear to them. The struggle was to be with the Portuguese, more advanced in the Military tactics than the luxurious Moguls. Shahu would not undertake the affair withuot consulting the Peshwa, who was in Indore.

On his return from the expedition Baji Rao had fully discussed this serious matter with the Chatrapati. He then turned his attention to the Portuguese, who had commenced an unchecked Zulum upon the Hindu population by their forced conversion of the inhabitants of the District to the Christian faith(1). Baji Rao obtained full details of the Portuguese affairs from his brother Chimnaji Appa and arranged to send an expedition against the Portuguese. The Peshwa's younger brother Chimnaji

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(1). ".....Nearer Thana were Anjur and Kelve. These last were inhabited chiefly by Pathare Prabhus, who had had religious quarrels with the Portuguese and had appealed to Baji Rao. With great speed, secrecy and diligence, Baji Rao collected a large force at Poona under the pretence of a more than usually elaborate festival in honour of the Goddess Parwati. He induced the King to appoint Chimnaji Appa generalissimo. After Baji Rao's return from Northern India, the Maratha leaders hastened to the Portuguese war, so that Chimnaji Appa had now a fine army at his disposal; and in command of Thana fort was no less a soldier than the redoubtable Malhar Rao Holkar. Chimnaji Appa delighted with this success renamed the fort of Thana the Fateh Buruj or the Tower of Victory",—Kincaid, Vol, II, Pages 251-255

Appa was the chief-in-command with Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Rao Sindhia and other Officers to assist him. Malhar Rao was ordered to assault the fort at Thana and Ranojirao Sindhia was directed to attack the other forts on the coast, while Chimnaji Appa laid siege to Mahim. After taking Mahim, Chimnaji Appa proceeded to Wasai (Bassein). Ranoji Sindhia, Ramchandra Hari, Shankarji Keshao and Murarji Naik, Baji Bhivrao, Yeshwantrao Pawar and other officers took Kelve, Tarapoor, Salsumbe, Nargole Dahanu and Asheri. All these officers then joined Chimnaji Appa at Wasai (Bassein) which was a very strong fort and defied the Maratha attempts to take it for a long time. In addition to the officers above mentioned, there were Vithal Shivdeo, Shankarji Narayan, Manaji Angre, Pilaji Jadhav, Ranoji Shitole, Khandoji Mankar, Krishnaji Naik, Govind-Hari and Waghoji Khanwelkar with the expedition, which is rightly considered as one of the greatest that the Peshwa ever sent out for the protection of the Hindus. The siege continued for a long time, both the combatants trying their best to win the game. At last victory graced the Maratha arms and Malhar Rao Holkar and the other Sirdars had the satisfaction of receiving warm appreciation from the chief-in-command Chimnaji Appa who wrote to Bajirao in the highest terms about the heroic deeds performed by his officers in taking the fort of Wasai (Bassein) over which the "Bhagwa Zenda" was unfurled in May 1739, after the expulsion of the Portuguese[1] from the Districts and

(1) The English were greatly alarmed by the news of the fall of Bassein. They used every endeavour in their power to secure the

the extirpation of the cause of the troubles to the people. The victory of the Marathas at Bessein and their occupation of the surrounding districts produced a remarkable change in their relations with the English at Bombay. We give the following extract from the History of the Marathas by Mr. Kincaid:—

"The defeat of the Portuguese left the English and the Marathas face to face. It must be admitted that the conduct of the English was based on no consistent policy. They tried to please both sides and pleased neither. The Portuguese were angry with them for warning the Thana garrison; and Chimnaji Appa resented the help given by Stephen Law to the Portuguese. The Company decided to send two missions, one to Chimnaji Appa and one to the Maratha King. On 12th May 1739 Captain Gordon left for Shahu's Court.

On the same day Captain Inchbird went to Bassein, to remove from Chimnaji Appa's mind his unfavourable impressions and to induce him to abandon a projected expedition against Bombay. Chimnaji Appa received Captain Inchbird coldly and hinted that the Company's object in sending two missions was simply to create ill-feeling between him and the King. Captain Gordon met with better fortune. On the 3rd June Captain Gordon called on the Pratinidhi. The latter asked him a few questions about Bombay and enquired mockingly whether it was fear of Baji Rao that had

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favour of the Peshwa and thereby to ensure their safety in Bombay from the wrath of his brother Chimnaji Appa, the victor of Bassein.

sent him. On the 8th June the envoy succeeded in reaching the King. But Shahu transacted no business." Kincaid, pages 268.

The following extract from the letter of Captain Gordon to the President in Council, Bombay, dated the 21st July 1739 would clearly point out how commanding was the personality as well as the position of Baji-Rao in those times and how this Peshwa was regarded by the English in Bombay(1):—

"I have throughout the foregoing hinted at the power of Baji Rao, who will always be capable of rendering abortive any application made to the Shahu Raja, and probably show his resentment there-at; so that although a civil correspondence with the said Raja may not be amiss care must be taken that he is not solicited for what interferes with Baji Rao, whose authority at court is ever such that in the absence of the Raja and contrary to advice of the seven principal counsellors, he can enforce a complete obedience to his sole mandates"—Forrest's Selections, Vol. I. page 80.

It is remarkable that Captain Gordon had taken with him valuable presents, not only for the King and the Peshwa, but even for Virubai. "As we could not see Virubai, a woman of consequence, we sent her letters and presents—"Kincaid.

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(1) Maharastra had confidence in Baji Rao, during whose regime several Maratha families rose to greatness by doing excellent work for the Maratha Empire, which the genius of that great Peshwa extended by uniting the hearts of the Marathas and the

It is not our intention to give a very detailed account of the Bassein operations, based on original letters which have been published by R. B. Parasnis in the life of Saint Brahmendra Swami. The operations against Portugese lasted for more than two years. This saint took great pains to prevail on the Chatrapati and the Peshwa Baji Rao to put an end to the persecution which was carried on by the Portuguese. He took the vow that he would not remain in the Chatrapati's Territory if Bassein were not conquered from the Portuguese, ("वसई न आली तर या राज्यांत राहील त्यांचें संन्यासपण लटके)". Our readers may read with great profit the original letters published by Mr. Parasnis in the Saint's Life. We give here some extracts for the benefit of our readers, as they would point out the magnitude as well as the importance of this expedition. Malhar Rao Holkar's name is frequently mentioned in the interesting letters written by Chimnaji Appa to the Swami as well as to Baji Rao, who had given exhaustive instructions for the guidance of his brother.

The Bassein expedition is considered as a very important affair. Even the European writers of Indian History have highly praised not only the valour of

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Maratha Brahmans. " पहिले बाजीराव पेशवे ह्यांनीं जुने मराठे सरदार एकत्र करून त्यांच्या हातून लष्करी नोकरी घेण्याचा चांगला प्रयत्न केला होता असे अनेक जुन्या कागदावरून दिसून येते." Vide I. S. page 82 Vol. II

About Baji Rao I, Captain Gordon, interalia, says further:—

"He is very secret in his purposes, insomuch that the forces which attend him are often ignorant where he intends to lead them. They follow him with an implicit obedience."

the Marathas but also their generosity to the vanquished after the glorious victory.

Grant Duff, the historian of the Marathas, considers this siege as " remarkable and the most vigorous ever prosecuted by the Marathas". Mr. Anderson says:- "The seige was carried on with such extraordinary vigour, skill, and perseverance, as perhaps the Marathas have in no other instance displayed. " Vide Swami's Life P. 83-84. Mr. Danvers observes:— "On the departure of the Portuguese from Bassein, the Marathas took possession of the place, and testimony is borne to the fact that they faithfully observed all the conditions of the capitulations, permitting all who wished to remain in peace, " p. 412. The testimony borne by the Maratha Bakhars to the prowess and patience of the Maratha Officers and soldiers is also worthy of narration. The Marathas did not show, after the victory, the least sign of retaliation. When a beautiful Portuguese damsel was found among the captives, she was taken to the General of the expedition, Chimnaji Appa who gave her a Saree and Cholee (bodice), regarding her as his sister, and ordered his body-guard to take her to her husband or relations. There was nothing of the libertine or the brute about the victorious Chimnaji Appa. By the way it must also be mentioned that Malhar Rao Holkar's mines (सुरंग), which created a havoc and led to the victory at Bassein and of which a great deal is said in the Maratha records, received an honourable mention in the important letters written by Chimnaji Appa to the revered Swamee and Baji Rao. We do not take note of all Chimnaji Appa's

important letters in this connection. But a glowing and graphic account of the operations at Bassein is given in a very important and detailed letter which Chimnaji Appa wrote to Brahmendra Swami. Malhar Rao Holkar's name appears in this letter with conspicious honour. Hence the whole letter is given in the Appendix.

CHAPTER VIII.

Nadir Shah's Invasion.

Baji Rao's Preparation to oppose him.

No sooner had Malhar Rao Holkar finished his work at Wasai (Bassein) than he received the Peshwa's urgent orders to be ready to join the expedition under Baji Rao, who was starting from Poona by the end of 1739 at the head of a large army to check the ruthless inroads of Nadir Shah against Delhi. Baji Rao's patriotic and large-hearted views for the defence of Hindustan against the invader Nadirshaha deserve to be spoken of in highest terms. The gallant Peshwa was enthusiastically assisted by his Sirdars and Officers. Malhar Rao Holkar, Ranoji Rao Sindhia and others, with one heart, declared their intention of crossing swords with the barbarian invaders who mercilessly butchered[1] the citizens of Delhi and looted the city freely. Holkar and Sindhia joined the Peshwa's army before it reached Malwa. Baji Rao was encamped on the banks of the sacred Narbada, when the intelligence was brought to him that Nadirshaha had hastily left Delhi[2] after covering himself with infamy and disgrace

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(1) ".....Nadirshah seated himself in the mosque of Ruknud dowlah in the great Bazar and drawing his sword bade his men not to cease from slaughter until he had replaced it in its scabbard. For several hours he thus sat gloomy and silent, while the helpless Indians were exposed to the savage fury of the northern barbarians"—Kincaid.

(2) Nadirshah left Delhi hastily after the massacre and the loot. "On the 14th June 1739 the King (Shahu) in open Durbar proclaimed that Nadirshaha through fear of the Marathas had fled the country." Kincaid.

by his cruelty, merciless plunder and torture of the helpless population. Baji Rao had held frequent consultations with Malhar Rao Holkar, Ranoji Rao Sindhia and other Sirdars with regard to this subject, which engrossed the heroic Peshwa's entire attention. The letters from the Maratha Envoys and diplomats to Baji Rao in connection with Nadirshaha are very interesting. We give here one of them:—

" Nadirshah is no God:—he can not destroy the creation: he is bound to come to terms with those who prove strong enough. The talk of friendship can begin only after a trial of strength. Peace can come only after war. So let the Maratha forces advance. If only the Rajputs and other Hindus, led by you (Baji Rao), present a bold front, great things would be accomplished. Nadirshah, aided by the Nizam, is not likely to go back, will directly march on the Hindu Kingdoms. So all these Hindu Rajas and Maharajas, including Savai Jaising, are anxiously waiting for your (Baji Rao's) arrival. If but led by you our Marathas, the Hindus, can march straight on Delhi, and dethrone the Moslem, and seat the Maharana of Udaipore on the Imperial throne of Delhi." Vide Hindu-pad-Padshahi by Sawarkar, pages 64-65.

The letter written at this time by Baji Rao is extremely interesting, patriotic and worthy of perusal:—

"The war with the Portuguese is as naught," wrote the Peshwa Baji Rao. "There is now but one enemy in Hindustan. The whole power of the Deccan,

the Marathas but also their generosity to the vanquished after the glorious victory.

Grant Duff, the historian of the Marathas, considers this siege as " remarkable and the most vigorous ever prosecuted by the Marathas". Mr. Anderson says:- "The seige was carried on with such extraordinary vigour, skill, and perseverance, as perhaps the Marathas have in no other instance displayed. " Vide Swami's Life P. 83-84. Mr. Danvers observes:— "On the departure of the Portuguese from Bassein, the Marathas took possession of the place, and testimony is borne to the fact that they faithfully observed all the conditions of the capitulations, permitting all who wished to remain in peace, " p. 412. The testimony borne by the Maratha Bakhars to the prowess and patience of the Maratha Officers and soldiers is also worthy of narration. The Marathas did not show, after the victory, the least sign of retaliation. When a beautiful Portuguese damsel was found among the captives, she was taken to the General of the expedition, Chimnaji Appa who gave her a Saree and Cholee (bodice), regarding her as his sister, and ordered his body-guard to take her to her husband or relations. There was nothing of the libertine or the brute about the victorious Chimnaji Appa. By the way it must also be mentioned that Malhar Rao Holkar's mines (सुरंग), which created a havoc and led to the victory at Bassein and of which a great deal is said in the Maratha records, received an honourable mention in the important letters written by Chimnaji Appa to the revered Swamee and Baji Rao. We do not take note of all Chimnaji Appa's

important letters in this connection. But a glowing and graphic account of the operations at Bassein is given in a very important and detailed letter which Chimnaji Appa wrote to Brahmendra Swami. Malhar Rao Holkar's name appears in this letter with conspicious honour. Hence the whole letter is given in the Appendix.

Hindus and Mussulmans alike must assemble, and I shall spread our Marathas from the Narbada to the Chambal.' Grant Duff.

About the hasty departure of Nadirshah from Delhi on May 15 1739 our readers will he interested to know much from Martin's British India.

We give here an extract, which will explain the cause regarding Nadirshah's invasion, and the treatment to which Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-mulk and Sadat Khan Vazeer, the central figures in this nefarious drama, were subjected by the Persian invader, who took away with him the choicest articles from the Imperial Toshakhana. The following extract from Mr. A. Dow's History of Hindustan, Volume II. Pages 295-6, is interesting in this connection:—

"The King of Persia, finding himself in possession of Delhi, called the Nizam and Sadatkhan into his presence and addressed them in the following extraordinary manner: Are not you both most ungrateful villains to your King and Country; who, after possessing such wealth and dignities, called me from my own dominions, to ruin them and yourselves ? But I will scourge you all with my wrath, which is the instrument of the vengeance of God ". Having spoken these words, he spat upon their beards the highest affront possible to Musulmen, and turned them, with every mark of indignity, from his presence".

"After the traitors were thrust out into the court of the Palace, the Nizam addressed himself to Sadat-

khan and swore by the holy prophet that he would not survive this indignity. Sadatkhan applauded his resolution, and swore he would swallow poison upon his return home; the Nizam did the same; and both, determined in appearance upon death, retired to their respective houses. "Sadat, in the meantime, sent a trusty spy to bring him intelligence when the Nizam should take his draught. The Nizam, having come home appeared in the deepest affliction; but having privately intimated his plot to a servant, he ordered him to bring the poison. The servant acted his part well. He brought him an innocent draught, with great reluctance. The Nizam, after some hesitation, and having formally said his prayers, drank it off in the presence of Sadat's spy, and soon after pretended to fall down dead. The spy hastened to his master, and told him that the Nizam had just expired. Sadat ashamed of being outdone in a point of honour by his fellow in inequity, swallowed a draught of real poison, and became the just instrument of punishment to his own villainy. The Nizam was not ashamed to live, though none had greater reason. He even prided in that wicked trick by which he had rid himself of his rival and afterwards actually enjoyed the intended fruits of all his villainies." Vide also Marshman's History of India Page 105.

While Malhar Rao Holkar, Ranoji Rao Sindhia and other Maratha Sirdars were thus engaged with the Peshwa, an unexpected and dire calamity was ready to overwhelm them at no distant date. Baji Rao, whose entire career was but a ceaseless life in camp, became

ill while his camp was in the vicinity of the sacred Nurbada. The Peshwa had high fever, which put an end to his precious existence on the 28th April 1740, (वैशाख शुद्ध १३) while he was still in the prime of life. Baji Rao was about 45 years of age at the time of his death. The grief of Malhar Rao Holkar, Ranoji Rao Sindhia and the other Maratha Sirdars knew no bounds. The hero, who aspired after planting the "Bhagwa Zendha" on the Himalayas; who raised Sindhia, Holkar, Govind Rao Bundele and many others to the highest pinnacles of glory and greatness; who was, in fact, the joy and pride of the Chatrapati and of Maharashtra, was gone, leaving his life-work to be completed by his lieutnants, who had imbibed his spirit and had learnt to continue his work for Maharashtra. Malhar-Rao Holkar felt the shock very keenly.(1)

The following letter was published in the Kesari of Poona. We give its translation for the benefit of those of our readers, who do not know Marathi:—

"बाजीराव साहेबांचा मृत्यु, (विष्णुबाबा अक्कलकोटकर, अक्कलकोट.) पहिले बाजीराव साहेब यांस नर्मदातीरीं मृत्यु चमत्कारिक रीतीने आला. ते स्वत: पोहणारे मोठे वस्ताद होते. रावेरखेडी या गांवापाशीं नर्मदेस फार अवघड भोवरा होता. त्या भोवऱ्यांतून जाण्याचा बाजीरावांनीं निश्चय केला. शेजारी मल्हारराव होळकर वगैरे सरदार मंडळी होती. त्यांनीं त्यांस असा अविचार न करण्याविषयीं विनविले. पण श्रीमंतांनीं कोणाचेंच ऐकले नाहीं.

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(1) ".....Malhar Rao appears from his continual employment to have been greatly favoured by Baji Rao I, to whose authority he continued, even in the zenith of his power, to pay the greatest deference....." Malcolm, page 148.

दे तसेच मोक्ष्यांत शिरले आणि बुडूं लागले. श्री. फत्तेसिंग भोसले स्वारींत होते त्यांनीं त्यांस मोठ्या शिताफीने पाण्यांतून बाहेर काढलें. त्या-प्रसंगीं पाणी बघून श्रीमंतांस ताप आला व त्यांतच त्यांचा अकालीं अंत झाला. यासंबंधीचा पुरावा अक्कलकोटच्या सरकारी दप्तरांत आहे असें समजतें."

Translation:—"Baji Rao I met with his death on the Nerbada rather in a strange manner. He was a great swimmer. There was a dangerous whirlpool in the Nerbada near the village named Rawerkhedi. Baji Rao resolved to swim through this whirlpool. Malhar Rao Holkar and other Sardars were there. They tried their best to dissuade the Peshwa from this act of rashness but invain. He jumped in the whirlpool and was on the point of being drowned, when Fatesingh Bhosle skilfully saved him. The Shreemant had fever due to cold and died."—Kesari, of Poona.

The death of Baji Rao is such a sad event in the history of the Marathas generally and especially in the life of Malhar Rao Holkar that we cannot pass it over without some observations. Grant Duff and Elphinstone have placed Baji Rao on the highest pedestal of greatness in Maharastra, next only to Shivaji, the illustrious founder of the Maratha Empire. Elsewhere we have mentioned the views of different writers on this subject. Even at the charge of repetition we feel inclined to say that without the undaunted spirit and the matchless prowess of Baji Rao, it would have been impossible at that time to give a permanent and a living form to the hopes of founding a Hindu (हिंदुपद

पादशाही) Empire in India. Take away Baji Rao from Maharastra, and there is no Maratha Empire, no Maratha History. Baji Rao stands next to Shivaji and to none else in the History of Maharastra, when all the surrounding circumstances are properly considered.(1)

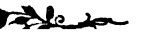
It was the end and aim of the policy of Baji Rao to expand the Maratha Empire by the joint efforts of a united Maharashtra and his whole life he sacrificed for that purpose(2).

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(1) ".....At the same time his (Baji Rao's) dress was simple and his fare was as meagre as that of any trooper in the field. An amusing story runs that once the emperor Mahomed Shah, curious to learn something of the appearance of the great soldier who was overrunning his dominions, sent his Court artist to paint him. The artist brought back a picture of Baji Rao on horseback in the dress of a trooper. His reins lay loose on his horse's neck and his lance rested on his shoulders. As he rode, he rubbed with both hands ears of corn which he ate, after removeing the husks. The emperor in great alarm cried, "why, the man is a fiend" and at once begged the Nizam to make peace with him."- Kincaid.

(2). " Judged by any standard, it can hardly be denied Baji-Rao was a great man. His person was commanding, his skin fair, his features strikingly handsome. So wide-spread was his reputation for beauty that, according to a Maratha legend, the ladies of Nizam-ul-mulk asked of their lord as a special favour that they might at his next meeting with the Brahmin Minister, unseen themselves, catch a glimpse of his fine presence and classic features"—Kincaid, page 267. See also Atre's Life of Malhar Rao Holkar in this connection for further details.

It is especially remarkable that Baji Rao was above caste prejudices in the selection of his officers and Sirdars. One of the trusted Sirdars of the great Peshwa was a Mhar, whose tent used to be pitched not far from that of the Peshwa. Vide "Kesari" dated 27th February 1923.



CHAPTER IX.

BALAJI BAJI RAO'S SUCCESSION.

The Chatrapati was exceedingly grieved when he heard of the untimely and sad death of Baji Rao in his camp at Raver Khedi on the banks of the sacred Nermada. The gallant Chimnaji Appa, the younger brother of Baji Rao, was, with the Peshawa's son Nanasaheb, engaged in the Konkan affairs. Both of them hastened to the Peshwa's camp near Raverkheri on the Narbada. There the funeral ceremony of the Great Maratha hero was performed by his eldest son Balaji Bajirao, who, thereafter, returned to Poona with Holkar and Sindhia. Balaji Bajirao then proceeded to Satara in company with his uncle Chimnaji Appa to pay his homage to the Chatrapati, who, in spite of the attempts of Raghugi Bhosle of Nagpur, conferred[1] the Peshwa-ship on Bajirao's son, as the Chatrapati knew his worth too well to be misled by Raghoji Bhosle[2] and others.

Balaji Bajirao, ordinarily known to students of Indian History as Nana Saheb Peshwa, led an expedition accompanied by Malhar Rao Holkar, against the prince of Jayapur, who had encroached on the rights

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(1) "Above all, Shahu loved him (Balaji Baji Rao) like his own son. At the instance of the Pratinidhi, who disliked Raghuji Bhosle even more than his Chitpavan rival, King Shahu on the 25th June 1740 appointed Balaji in his father's place"—Kincaid, p. 273.

(2) Raghoji Bhosle recommended that Bapuji Naik of Baramati should be the successor of Baji Rao.

of the Bundi State. The Bundi Chief Umedsingh was a minor and his step-mother was sister of Rajah Sawai Jayasingh of Jaypore. A disagreement arose between the sister and Sawai Jaysingh, when the latter attempted to encroach on the Bundi State. Jaysingh's sister approached Malharrao Holkar at Poona and succeeded through him in enlisting the sympathy and support of the new Peshwa for her son Umedsingh. Rajah Jaysing died in 1743 and his successor Ishwar Singh had the imprudence to think of attacking the force under Malhar Rao Holkar. In the engagement which followed, Ishwarsingh's army was defeated and put to flight. Ishwarsingh concluded a peace with Holkar by paying 20 lakhs of rupees and agreeing to the chiefship of Bundi being given to Umedsingh. When Malhar Rao obtained this victory over the Jaypore army, together with the amount of 20 lakhs, the Peshwa was encamped at Indore and heard of the successful termination of the trouble with great exultation. Umedsingh was seated on the throne of Bundi. Malhar Rao Holkar then returned to Indore, whence he proceeded with the Peshwa to Poona.

Malhar Rao Holkar had again to interfere in the affairs of Jaypore, where feuds arose between Madhosingh and Ishwarsingh, sons of Sawai Jaysingh, who had died in 1743. Madhosingh was born from the princess of Udaipore and claimed succession to the throne of Jaypore. Rana Sangramsingh of Udaipore was a friend of Malhar Rao Holkar. Jaypore was disturbed by two parties, each trying to outwit and overwhelm the other. In 1747 Rajah Ishwarsingh went

to Punjab to fight with the Duranees and during his absence the party of Madhosingh found a good opportunity to advance his claims to the Chief-ship of Jaypore. Rana Sangramsingh of Udaipore, uncle of Madhosingh, sent over-tures to Malhar Rao Holkar at Poona for help, which was readily offered as the Rana and Holkar were friends. Ishwarsingh's minister Rajmal Khatri proved a traitor to his master and secretly encouraged Malhar Rao Holkar to come un-resisted to Jaypore limits. When Ishwarsingh heard of Holkar's arrival as far as Chatsu, he was dismayed and he put an end to his life. Malhar Rao Holkar heard, on his way to Jaypore, of the sad event. Without meeting with any resistance, Holkar encamped at the gates of Jaypore and sent a message to Madhosingh who was then at Rampura. Madhosingh soon arrived at Jaypore and was seated on the throne with Malhar Rao Holkar's help. Holkar received 76 lakhs and a considerable tract of territory from Rajah Madho Singh of Jaipore.(1) Some disagreement between Mahlar-Rao Holkar and Jayappa Sindhia had arisen over the Jaypore affair, in which part of Sindhia's force was treacherously put to the sword by the intrigues of Rajah Madhosing's party. Through Malhar Rao's tact the sad disagreement was hushed up. Malhar Rao Holkar left Jaypore with Jayappa Sindhia in 1749.

In 1750 Sindhia and Holkar were invited by Vazir Safdar Jung (Mansurali) to help him against the

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(1) Rampura, Tonk and Hinglasgad were ceded to Malhar Rao Holkar. An annual tribute of 3½ lakhs was also agreed upon.

Pathans of Farakkabad who were aided by the Rohillas. They accepted the call for help from the Vazir and undertook to punish the refractory Pathans, who had committed the villainy of murdering the Governor Navalrai. While Malhar Rao Holkar and Jaya Appa Sindhia were encamped at Agra, the Vazeer Safdar Jung came there to meet them and welcome their help. Gangadhar Yashwant and Sabaji Sindhia were sent with 25,000 horse to attack the Pathans who had been strongly posted at Kassim Ganj. Several skirmishes took place and the Maratha Commanders were able to defeat the Pathan forces and to kill their commander Bahadur Khan Rohilla. Malhar Rao, Jaya Appa and Safdar Jung arrived at Farrukkabad shortly after this and were informed that the Pathan forces had taken up a position in the valley of the Ganges which was strong and likely to defy the Maratha army. The Marathas entered Rohilkhand and cut off the supplies which the Pathan forces received from that quarter. The Rohillas openly joined the Pathan standard and resolved to fight the Marathas, who succeeded in vanquishing their force by resorting to guerrilla warfare, which extended to the very heart of the Kumaon Hills. At last the Pathan and the Rohillas sued for peace, which was concluded favourably[1] to the cause

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(1) This battle of Farrukabad, in which the Rohillas and Pathans were routed, took place on 21st March 1751. The Peshwa congratulated his officers Sindhia and Holkar on their success in a felicitous letter which bespeaks the Peshwa's tact in dealing with his officers.

The Rohillas and the Pathans desired to wrest the throne from the Moguls, whose advocates were Gazi-ud-deen and Safder Jang both

espoused by Sindhia and Holkar. After bringing this important affair to a successful result, Malhar Rao Holkar, Jayappa Sindhia and Vazeer Safdarjung started for Delhi, where the Emperor warmly received the two Maratha Sirdars and conferred rich Khillut on them. The Emperor asked Malhar Rao to accept some terrritorial grant, where-upon the brave and loyal Maratha Sirdar replied. " I am the Peshwa's servant, without his consent I can not accept any reward. Yet if it pleases His Majesty, the Sir Deshmukhi of Chandwad Mahal may be granted to me ". "The Emperor was delighted to confer the Sanad of the "Sir deshmukhi" of Chandwad Mahal on Malhar Rao Holkar. Sindhia and Holkar left Delhi after receiving the amount promised by the Vazeer Safdar Jung for the expenses of the expedition against the Pathans and

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opposed to Ahmad Shah Abdalli. Gazi-ud-deen saw no other remedy to save the Mogal throne than seeking the Maratha aid. Thus the Marathas and the Moguls entered into an agreement, whereby the Peshawa's officers Jayappa Sindhia and Malhar Rao Holkar undertook the administration of all the Provinces lying between Benares and Sindh for controlling the power of Abdali, the Rohillas, the Rajputs and the Ameer of Sindh. The Peshwas also desired to secure the holy places of pilgrimage, Benares, Allahabad, Gaya, and others. The Marathas humbled the Rohillas and raised the prestige of the Vazeer Safdar Jung. The animosity between the emperor and the Vazeer increased day by day through the intrigues of the lewd Begum Udam and Khoja Jawed. Each party was anxious to avail of the Maratha help.

the Rohillas. The Peshawa was duly informed of the details of this expedition [1]



(1) Mr. Sardesai comments as follows on this subject:-"मल्हारराव होळकरानें वजीरास मदत करण्याचें पत्करून रोहिल्यांवर मोहीम काढिली, त्यावेळीं म्हणजे बादशहाशीं नवीन करार केला तेव्हापासूनच, मराठ्यांकडील या नवीन उद्योगाची उभारणी किती अव्यवस्थित होती, निरनिराळ्या सरदारांत अंतर्वैमनस्यें कशीं बोकाळली होतीं, आणि तेड गेलेल्या मडक्या प्रमाणें हा व्यूह किती त्वरेनें कोसळून पडण्या जोगा होता, याची कल्पना खालील पत्रांतील उतऱ्यांवरून उत्कृष्ट येते. हें पत्र बापूजी महादेवानें दिल्लिहून आपल्या भावास म्हणजे दत्तोदर महादेवास होळकराचे लष्करांत, लिहीले आहे. या पत्राची तारीख २३ जानेवारी १७५१ आहे."

CHAPTER X.

THE SIEGE OF KUMBHEREE.

The Peshwa Nanasaheb had entrusted a very delicate and important mission to Malhar Rao Holkar[1] and Jaya Appa Sindhia. He instructed them to persuade the Emperor to dismiss Nizamalli from the Deccan Viceroyalty and to appoint Nizam Alli's younger brother Gaziuddin to that post. The Emperor was prevailed upon to sanction the arrangement in deference to the Peshwa's desire. The Emperor dismissed Nizam Alli, and Gaziuddin was appointed to the Deccan Viceroyalty. Malhar Rao Holkar left Delhi with Gaziuddin for the Deccan in accordance with the letter from the Peshwa. After forced marches they reached Aurangabad, where the unfortunate Gaziuddin was poisoned by Nizamali's mother and he died instantaneously.

Malhar Rao Holkar and Jayappa Sindhia accompanied Raghunathrao Dada (known ordinarily as Raghoba)[2] in his expedition to Hindustan. The Marathas had a scuffle with the Jats on account of the amount of the

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(1) The Peshwa was highly pleased with the services of Malhar-Rao Holkar. In 1751 the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao conferred on Holkar the dignity and designation of "Soobhedar of Malwa" as an appreciation of his services, with which Holkar was greatly pleased.

(2) Raghunath Rao started from Poona on 30th August, 1753. The Peshwa ordered Sskharam Bapu, Chintopant Rairikar and Mahipat Rao Chitnis to accompany him. Dattaji Sindhia and Khande-Rao Holkar joined the expedition in Khandesh.

tribute,[3] the affair at last culminating in hostilities. The siege of Kumbheree was begun with enthusiasm, both sides exerting themselves to the utmost. During the operations at Kumbheree the greatest calamity that could occur to man, overwhelmed the hero of this narrative. Khanderao Holkar, the only son of Malhar Rao, was killed by a cannon ball on the 24th of March 1754,[1] in the course of an assault against a point in the siege of Kumbheree. Words fail to describe the extent and intensity of Malhar Rao Holkar's grief at the untimely demise of his beloved and only son, the pride and joy of the saintly Ahilyabai and the hope and solace of Gautamabai in her declining age. Malhar Rao's grief was doubled, when he found that Ahilya Bai was bent on ascending the funeral pyre of her beloved husband, regardless of the political grandeuar, the pomp and glory of her father-in-law, whose rising power and military greatness were seriously over-shadowed by this dire calimity. The Peshwa was pained beyond

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(3) Rajah Surajmal's agent Rupram Chaudhari offered 40 Lakhs, while Raghoba demanded one Crore of rupees. The offer of 40 lakhs was declined and both parties appealed to arms.

(1) For details see "Devi Ahilyabai Holkar" by the present writer. The siege lasted four months.

"रेतीचे रानामुळें सुरूंगास यत्न नाहीं. मोहरा इरेस पडला, आंतून कोणी सल्लयास येईना. असा दीड महिना झाला. एके दिवशी खंडेराव होळकर (अहिल्याबाईचा नवरा) तो भोजन करून मोर्चात निशाणापाशी आला, तो एकाएकीं जेजालेची गोळी लागून मोर्चात ठार झाला."

Bhow Shahib's Bakhar.

measure when this sad news was reported to him. In fact Malhar Rao Holkar's whole life was affected by this terrible bereavment, which occurred when he was on the border of oldage. In such a state of mind and body, the Soobhedar could not dissociate the responsibility of the calamity from the action of the Jat Chief Surajmal, whose power Holkar resolved to destroy root and branch. Holkar's retaliation was terrible and Rajah Surajmal was totally confounded and could see no way out of the difficulty. At this critical time, the Rani of Surajmal and his minister Rupram Choadhari suggested a sound plan and a safe way out of the danger that awaited the Jat Chief. The Rani knew that Jayappa Sindhia was a powerful Maratha Sirdar and a friend of the Jat Chief. She, therefore, proposed that closer relations should be established with Sindhia by the exchange of turbans (पगडीबदल भाईचारा) to secure Sindhia's sympathy and support in the interest of the Jat State. In pursuance of this suggestion, which the Jat Chief approved, Tejram, son of Rupram Chaudhari, was sent with the Jat's turban along with a letter couched in the most courteous and beseeching terms to Jayappa Sindhia. The Jat Chief's entreaties were favourably received by Jayappa Sindhia, and the exchange of turbans duly took place. The episode is, indeed, an unpleasant affair and is supposed to have sown the seeds of disagreement between Sindhia and Holkar and led to many disagreeable scenes in the near future. Raghunathrao Dada, who had a very high regard for Malhar Rao Holkar, was surprised to hear of this incident, and the wrath of Malhar Rao Holkar knew no bounds when

news of the new relationship between Sindhia and Surajmal Jat was carried to him. In short, the position of the three chief persons Raghoba, Sindhia and Holkar was, at this time, very perplexing. Malhar Rao Holkar could not brook the promise of help which Jayappa Sindhia had given to Surajmal Jat and in high wrath the brave warrior[1] went to the tent of Raghoba and pointed out to him the indiscretion of Sindhia in exchanging turban with the Jat Chief and thus establishing intimate relations with the foe. Raghunathrao consulted the famous statesman Sakharam Bapu in this awkward situation, and the advice given by Bapu was to the effect that Sindhia and Holkar had a right to be equally treated and that though Malhar Rao might have taken a strong view about the Jats owing to the influence of grief and bereavement, it was but right to come to terms with the Jat Chief and accept his overtures for peace on his giving a handsome tribute. While Raghoba and Sakharam Bapu were thus discussing the merits and desmerits of the Jat problem and Holkar's view about it, Surajmal was pressing Sindhia to conclude peace. Jayappa Sindhia, at last, determined to approach Raghunath Rao and personally explain the whole situation to him, pointing out to him the benefits of making piece with the Jat Chief.

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(1) The exact words of Malhar Rao Holkar as given in the Maratha records are to the following effect:— " आपल्याच पदरांत विस्तव बांधून शत्रूच्या नाशाची इच्छा धरल्यास तें कसें घडावें? आतां मसलत फते होऊन जाट कसा स्वाधीन होईल? "

Bhau Sahib's Bakhar page 6.

Jayappa's main argument was that it was futile to concentrate all the Maratha energy on the Jat question and to remain fixed to one and the same place, seeing that the enormous expense of the army could not be defrayed. Fortunately, however, for Sindhiah, a call came from an unexpected quarter and relieved him from the strain to which the situation had exposed him. A dispute had arisen between Ramsingh and Bijaysingh of Marwar. Bijaysingh had succeeded in ousting Ramsingh from the State. Ramsing sent his agent to Jayappa Sindhia at Kumbheree praying for help in his fallen condition. Sindhia took the fullest advantage of his opportunity and immediately prepared to start for Nagore. When taking leave of Raghunath Rao, Jayappa addressed to him a few significant sentences and repaired to his tent, issuing orders to his forces to prepare for starting in the direction of Nagore. When Jayappa Sindhia was almost on the point of leaving Kumbheree to aid Ramsingh of Nagore, Raghunath Rao called Malhar Rao Holkar to his tent and consulted him with regard to the future plans about the siege of Kumbheree. It was reported at this time that the Emperor had marched with an army from Delhi for the succour and relief of the Jat Chief and had even come as far as Sikandra. With laudable patience and a spirit of conciliation, Malhar Rao Holkar accorded his consent to what the Dada had proposed. Raghunath Rao Dada took Holkar at his word. Holkar marched towards Mathura, leaving Raghunath Rao and Jayappa to settle the Jat problem, which, at last was brought to a termination by the Jat Chief paying sixty lakhs through the intercessicn of Jayappa Sindhia. Thus ended the siege of

Kumbheree in the May of 1754, leaving behind the saddest memories for Holkar and sowing seeds of disunion and unpleasentness between the two mighty Sirdars of the Peshwa[1]. Raghunath Rao Dada left Kumbheree for Poona, granting permission to Jayappa Sindhia to proceed to Nagore and carry out his aims in that quarter. The Jat chief Surajmal was, in this way, freed from his danger, but he still harboured suspicion about Malhar Rao Holkar's movements. Malhar Rao did not forget the part played by the Emperor in sending succour to the Jat Chief. He was brooding over these affairs in his camp at Mathura, when intelligence was brought to him that the imperial army was about eighty miles from his camp and he considered it a good opportunity to surprise the Emperor's force by a smart and unexpected attack by his troops. Holkar started from his camp by forced marches and arrived in the vicinity of the Moghal army, which he attacked vehemently when the Mogals were quite off their guard. The whole force was thrown into a panic, as the attack was sudden and not in the least expected at that hour of the night. The Emperor escaped from his camp in a Nalki. The plight of the Mogal army was pitiable, every one taking to his heels in a most dis-

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(1) After the Jat chief was reconciled with the Marathas he erected a cenotaph in honour of Khande Rao, engaging a Brahmin for the worship of the idols therein and granting some annuity for its up-keep. Recently, I heard from Sirdar M. V. Kibey that the successors of Surajmal Jat performed the "श्राद्ध" (funeral obsequies) of Khanderao Holkar. H. H. the present Maharaja of Bharatpur mentioned to Mr. Gogate that the said "श्राद्ध" is performed even now. (For details Vide **Appendix.**)

orderly manner. The loot was general and the Pendharis who accompanied Holkar's army plundered the camp with no sparing hands. The Empress Malkazamani was also deprived of all her valuable ornaments and clothes and was surrounded by the Pendharies. When Malharrao heard of the Empress' plight, he went there himself and protected her from the violence of the Pendharis. The loot obtained by Holkar in this action was very valuable. Holkar evinced the magnanimity of his heart by giving an equal share to Jayappa Sindhia, though the latter had been to Marwar. Malhar Rao then proceeded to Delhi, where the Emperor received him with great respect and hospitality. The Emperor paid eighty lakhs to Holkar in cash and kind and thus poured oil on troubled waters. It is clear from what has been recorded so far that Malhar Rao Holkar has been successful in establishing his prestige and name in Hindustan and making the Maratha power a living force and reality throughout the imperial districts. The Delhi Court was not only over-awed but paralized by the movements of the two powerful Sirdars of the Peshwa-Sindhia and Holkar.

Strenuous attempts were made by unpatriotic Maratha Sirdars like Janoji Nimbalkar and Ramchandra Rao Jadhav, who were in the service of the Nizam, to detach Malhar Rao Holkar and Sindhia from the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao's service and thus weaken the Maratha Empire, in the extension of which the Peshwa was deeply engaged. Syed Surlashkar Khan, the Nizam's Dewan, was the chief conspirator and the central figure in

the plot. It is a pity[1] that Maratha Sirdars like Janoji Nimbalkar and Hanmantrao Nimbalkar and the grandson of Dhanaji Jadhav were helping the Nizam in the conspiracy against the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, whose whole life was devoted to the accomplishment of the aim of "the Hindu Reconquest of India" so sanguinely cherished by the illustrious Shivaji and the great Baji Rao. Monsieur Busy's interview with the Peshwa's Vakeel in this connection and his conversation are worthy of careful notice. What Monsieur Busy said about Malhar Rao Holkar is especially of much importance:—

"साल गुदस्त महारावं निंबाळकरानीं मल्हारराव होळकरांस फोडावयाचा मनसबा केला, लेकिन शेवटास न गेला. मग पस्तावोन खुशामतीस लागले. पुढेंही दगाबाजीस चुकणार नाहींत. आह्मी रावप्रधानसाहेबांस जाणतों. त्यानीं या लोकांस (मोगलांस) नजरेंतच धरावें."

The Nizam had offered Malhar Rao Holkar the temptation of an imperial Jagheer in Malwa, but the faithful Malhar Rao Holkar and Sindhia ever remained staunch in their devotion to the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao in spite of the despicable endeavours and offers of the Nizam's Dewan and other Sirdars in the Nizam's service. It also appears from a letter to the Peshwa dated the 10th May 1756 from the Peshwa's Vakeel Dewajipant that M. Busy was courting the

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(1) For details about the unpatriotic propensity of the Marathas vide Sardesai's "Marathi Riyasat," Part II. pages 235-245.

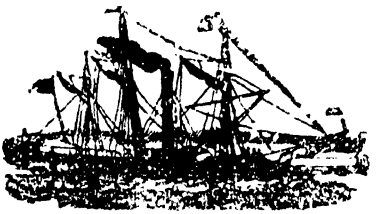
Among the causes that led to the fall of the Maratha Empire, this propensity, the out—come of a want of national spirit, may be mentioned as the chief one.

Peshwa's favour through Malhar Rao Holkar. The Nizam was also soliciting the Peshwa's help for getting rid of M. Busy. The Nizam and his brother often went to pay their respects to the Peshwa. So also did M. Bussy and Shah Nawajkhana. It also appears from a letter(1) dated the 18th May 1756 that Balaji Baji Rao intended to keep M. Busy in his service, as the artillery had attracted the special attention of the Peshwa at Savanoor.

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(1) For details see Sardesai's Maratha History, Vol., II, page 373 The following letter is interesting:—

"फिरंगी यास आज्ञा दिली कीं, आपले फुलचरीस जाणें. त्यांस अति निकट करून काढलें. फिरंगी कूच करून मल्हारराव होळकरापाशीं उतरले. होळकर लग्नासाठीं पंत प्रधानापासून रजा घेउन चालले. मूसा बूसी याचा बनाव न बने यास्तव सलाबत जंगानीं निरोप दिला. त्यास मच्छली बंदरी पाठविले. तेथून जावयाचे भय यास्तव पेशव्याकडून त्यांस पांचशें राउत पोंहचावयास दिल. पुढें त्याणीं सरकारांत चाकरीस यावे असें केलें. फिरंगीमर्द, सरंजाम चांगला, याज करितां चाकर ठेवले"



CHAPTER XI.

SAWNUR TAKEN. INVASION OF BENGAL.

Malhar Rao Holkar returned to Poona in 1754, loaded with glory and wealth. He placed before the Peshwa Nanasaheb the rich and rare articles which he had brought from Delhi and other parts of Hindustan and also put a large amount of hard cash into the Peshwa's Exchequer. Balaji Baji Rao was highly gratified with the account of the expedition and the success achieved by Holkar, though the death of Khanderao was an irreparable loss and keenly felt by the Peshwa, who regarded Malhar Rao as an uncle and had a genuine affection for him, which Holkar always gratefully and warmly reciprocated. Several interviews took place between the Peshwa and Malhar Rao and many a plan was discussed during the stay of the latter in Poona, where internal feuds had begun to assume somewhat serious proportions. The Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, who was a far-sighted statesman and possessed the most amiable manners, tried his best to suppress these internecine feuds but the other leaders like Raghunathrao Dada were, more or less, imprudent, though brave and consequently some trouble was set on foot of which it is unnecessary to make a detailed mention in this narrative. The Peshwa undoubtedly had great regard and affection for Malhar Rao, whom he often consulted and whose advice generally he greatly valued. While Malhar Rao was staying with his master the Peshwa and enjoying his hospitality in Poona, the Poona Court was planning an expedition against the Nawab of

Savanur, who had become recalcitrant and had assumed an attitude of insolence towards the Maratha power. The Peshwa seriously took the matter up and after due deliberation, gave orders for the preparation of an expedition against the Sawnur Nawab (1). Holkar and Vithal Shivdeo Vinchurkar accompanied the Peshwa, who had also taken Sadashiv Rao Bhau with him. The whole expedition started from Poona and on their way to Sawanur was joined by Bhosle's force about 10,000 strong. After crossing the sacred river Krishna, the Maratha army took Bagalkote fort without any difficulty. The intelligence of this expedition dismayed the Vazeer of the Nizam of Hydrabad, but the Peshwa soon dispelled the Vazir's fears by writing and telling him that the Maratha army was proceeding to punish the insolent Nawab of Sawanur and had no intention of invading the Hydrabad territory. The Peshwa further asked the Vazeer to come with his force to help the Marathas. Accordingly the Vazeer sent M. Bussy with his force to wait upon the Peshwa and carry out his orders. The Peshwa, however, soon found out his mistake in asking for succour from the Vazeer as it was likely to be under-stood by the Hydrabad Durbar that the Peshwa, unaided, was unable to chastise the

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(1) The Nawab had insulted the Peshwa by refusing to send back Muzaffarkhan, who was in the employment of the Peshwa in Poona. Muzaffarkhan was a gallant soldier, well disciplined and trained under French officers, and had taken great pains in the training and discipline of the Maratha army. The Peshwa had much regard for Muzaffarkhan, who however, had a disagreement with Mahadajipant, Purandare.

Sawanur Nawab. Hence the Peshwa was extremely anxious that the Sawanur affair should be settled without any help from Hydrabad. The Peshwa called Malhar Rao Holkar and other Sirdars and expressed his heart's desire to take Sawanur without the help of the French Officer sent by the Vazeer. Malhar Rao requested the Peshwa to entrust this business to Vithal Shivdeo Vinchurkar, with whose help Holkar undertook to take Sawanur before the arrival of the French Officer. The Peshwa at once sent for Vinchurkar and removed the misunderstanding by his persuasive speech, whereupon Holkar and Vinchurkar under-took the task of taking Sawanur, as desired by the Peshwa. The Sawanur fort was taken after a fierce fight in which Vinchurkar was slightly wounded in the neck. The Peshwa and Malhar Rao visited Vinchurkar and greatly admired his skill and valour. Twelve lakhs were given to Vinchurkar on the spot for the expenses which he had incurred in the Gwalior expedition. Vinchurkar's officers Sarjekhan and Matakhan, who planted the Maratha flag on the Sawanur Fort, were duly rewarded by the Peshwa. The Nawab of Sawanur was humbled and he yielded some of his territory to the Peshwa. The root of the trouble Muzaffarkhan was removed from the Nawab's service.

The Peshwa was greatly satisfied with Malhar Rao Holkar's skill and valour as displayed in the takiug of Sawanur. After this victory, the Peshwa returned to Poona in company with Holkar and Vinchurksr in 1756.

We have already referred to the expansion of the Maratha power in the South and North of India

and the deeds of valour done by Malhar Rao Holkar. We take this opportunity of giving a brief account of the Maratha activity in Bengal. The feuds between Allavardi Khan and Murshad Kuli Khan gave the Marathas an opportunity to invade Bahar and Bengal. Bhaskarpant Kolhatkar, Minister of Raghuji Bhosle, was invited by Murshid Kuli Khan through his Diwan Mir Habib. Bhaskarpant accepted the invitation. He invaded Bengal and took Hoogly, Midnapur, Rajmahal and other Bengal Districts. Now Alla Vardi Khan invited the Peshwa for helping him against Mir Habib. The Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao went with all haste to the help of Alla Vardi Khan and defeated Raghuji Bhosle's army. But Balaji and Raghuji Bhosle soon became friends. In the mean-time Allavardi Khan treacherously murdered Bhaskarpant.

Bhaskar Pandit the Mahratha general was deluded into an interview, and fell a victim to superior cunning and villany of the successful Alla Vardikhan. But this treachery did not remain long unpunished. The Marathas of Poona and Berar might contend that they invaded Bengal to avenge the murder; but the riches of Bengal and its fertile plains were probably the strongest inducements for attack. Balajee Bajee Rao, and Raghojee invaded the province at two opposite quarters. Alla Vardi Khan had felt the necessity of fortifying the Seeragully Pass; and he trusted that Balajee Bajee Rao would not penetrate the pass without great interruption and considerable loss. But the geninus of Balajee Bajee Rao over-came the difficulty. A peasant was discovered, who, for a reward of one lakh of Rupees, agreed to conduct his army through a pass in the Colgan hills. He executed his promises

and in six days, to use an expressive epithet, landed the Marathas in the plains of Rajmahal. Alla Vardi Khan had naturally conceived that Balajee intended to trace the foot-steps of Bhaskar Pandit, who invaded Bengal through Beirbhom. His consternation was extreme, when he found that Balajee had entered Bengal by an unknown Pass, and had formed a junction with Raghoji in the District of Burdwan. Here the plan of the compaign was concerted; but a mutual animosity, the seeds of which had been long sown, broke out between these rival chieftains, and saved the Nawab from inevitable ruin. The Peshwa affected to consider the chieftain of Berar, as a subject and officer of the Shahoo Raja, while Raghojee was unwilling to acknowledge the submission which the other demanded as the delegate of the secluded monarch. The division of plunder was another subject of contention, and the Nawab found but little difficulty in purchasing a peace from Balaji who immediately retired with the money he had received, leaving Raghojee to carry on the war, and revenge the murder of Bhaskar Pandit. The English at Culcutta suffered but little from the predatory incursions of the Marathas, although a party was encamped within a short distance of Tama's fort, near the English settlement of Fort William. They, however, commenced on forming a ditch for their security, which is not further remarkable than as the limits of the Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court."(1)

(1) Vide Scot—waring.

"In 1752 A, D, Alla Vardi Khan found it necessary to cede toRaghoji Bhosle the Province of Orissa by way of Settlement of the Chauth of Bengal and Behar. In this way the Marathas obtained in Bengal the firm footing, still recalled by the ditch that once protected Culcutta and by the word "Ditcher" a name





SUBHEDAR MALHAR RAO HOLKAR.

CHAPTER XII.

MALHAR RAO HOLKAR IN APOGEE.

CONQUEST OF THE PUNJAB, 1757—1758.

(HINDUSTHAN).

The year 1757 may be considered as the most important in the career of Malhar Rao Holkar, when the subject is taken into view from the stand point of worldly greatness and political influence. It was in this year that under the brave but imprudent Raghobadada, Malhar Rao had the glorious opportunity of seeing the Deccan horse quenching its thirst in the waters of the Attock. After this memorable Maratha expedition, Holkar's influence gradually began to decline for reasons which will be mentioned later on, and which future events will point out in an unmistakable manner.

Raghoba Dada started from Poona in 1757 on a grand expedition to Hindusthan. The Peshwa sent this expedition in order to control effectively the forces which were working at Delhi under the guidance of Najib Khan Rohilla and Suja Udawalla backed by the Empress Malka Jamani. Malhar Rao Holkar was a right hand of Raghoba Dada in this expedition, which was sufficiently strong to meet any emergency that might arise owing to the combination of the Mohommedan interests in Hindusthan. The Peshwa was right in anticipating the danger that was developing and the storm that was ready to burst in the Imperial Capital. The Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, therefore, had taken every possi-

ble precaution that Raghoba Dada and Malhar Rao Holkar should be in such a strong position as to face the temporary union of the Mogal advocates who had invited Ahmadshaha Abdalli, the Ameer of Kabul, to strengthen the Mogal power by suppressing the rising influence of the Marathas[1]. Well prepared and well equipped, the expedition under Raghoba Dada and Malhar Rao Holkar left Poona on an auspicious day, receiving detailed instructions from the sagacious statesman the Peshwa Balajee Baji Rao. Raghoba and Holkar proceeded on their mission, realising the amount of tributes from the states they came across on their way and reached Agra, where the fugitive Vazir Gazi Uddin met them and explained the whole situation to the head of the expedition. Raghoba and Holkar took the deposed Vazir with them and advanced to Delhi which the Marathas besieged. They strenuously attacked the fort, which was defended by the cunning Nazibkhan who afterwards gave so much trouble to the Marathas and was the chief cause of the aspersions which were brought against the honourable name of Malhar Rao Holkar. For about two weeks the defence of the fort was carried on by Nazib Khan, who ultimately began to despair of holding out any longer against the Maratha assaults. Najib Khan, therefore, opened negotiations with Malhar Rao Holkar on whose mercy the crafty Najib[2]

(1) In 1756 Ahmadshaha Abdalli had come to Delhi with a large force.

(2) Mr. Rajwade has severely criticised Holkar's conduct in saving Najeeb Khan. Najibkhan beseeched Malhar Rao to consider him as a son and deliver him from the present danger. (Vide Rajwade's Introduction, page 53 Khanda 1750—1761).

threw himself. Holkar was prevailed upon by the entreaties of Najibkhan and he promised to save him at all costs. Malhar Rao brought Najib's overtures to the favourable notice of Raghoba Dada and most enthusiastically pleaded Najib's cause before the brave but imprudent brother of the Peshwa. Raghoba consented to pardon Najib, though the other Maratha officers were quite opposed to that suicidal act. Najib Khan was thus able to escape from the danger and to prove by his acts at no distant date that he was as ungrateful as he was mean.(1) Delhi was taken by the Marathas and Raghoba Dada placed the degraded Emperor Shaha Alum on the throne aud appointed Gazi Uddin as Vazeer, Antaji Mankeshwar Gandhe being nominated Superintendent of the affairs in the Imperial City. Thus the Marathas were able to bring the Imperial affairs at Delhi togother with the titular Emperor under their control and influence. The Maratha expedition started from Delhi to subjugate the Punjab and drive away Timarshaha (son of Ahmad Shah Abdalli Ali) who was in Lahore. On their way to that city, Raghoba and Malhar-Rao halted at Kurukshetra, where they performed the religious ceremonies, which the Hindus are enjoined to go

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(1) Raghoba, as is mentioned above, had a very high regard for Holkar who now seriously espoused Najib's cause and succeeded in saving his life. How far Malhar Rao was right in this undertaking will be duly considered later on.

Malhar Rao Holkar arranged that Najib should be safely escorted to his fort of Shukkar Tal in Rohilkhand of which the reader will be interested to read details in the "Life of Mahadji Sindhia" by the Hon'ble Mr. Vishnu Raghunath Natu B. A., LL. B. and by the present writer.

through in such sacred places of pilgrimage. Timurshaha fled to Kandahar on hearing of the Maratha expedition to the Punjab, while the Afgan Sardar Saimat Khan was over-whelmed and plundered during his flight. The Marathas defeated Adina Baig and entered Lahore with the pomp and glory of victors of the Punjab. From Lahore Raghoba and Malhar Rao advanced to the Attock, where they camped for about a month. Lahore, together with the adjoining District, was placed under a Maratha Sirdar named Manaji Sindhia with a suitable force.(1)

We have much pleasure in giving the following Extract in connection with the Punjab Expedition:—

"For the occupation of the Attock suddenly widened the sphere of their influence and the horizon of their political activities. It could no longer confine itself within the four walls of Delhi. Agents and emissaries and ambassadors poured in the Maratha Camp, from Kashmere, Kandahar and Kabul. A time was when the dispossessed Hindu elements to a Gaddi invited help from the Moslems of Kabul and Persia. Now tables were turned. Petitions and prayers were daily received by Raghunath Rao from the disaffected elements of Kabul and Kandahar. Writes the general to Nana Sahib

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(1) "The Hindus reached the Attock. For the first time since the dismal day when Prithwiraj fell, a trimuphant Hindu flag waved proudly on the sacred river of the Vedas. The Hindu horse of victory drank the waters of the Indus gazing fearlessly at himself as reflected in its crystal tides."—Savarkar page 89.

on the 4th May 1758. "The forces of Sultan Taimur and Jahankhan were routed and their very camp, with all their belongings, fell in our hands. Only a few could recross Attock alive. The Shah of Iran has defeated Abdally and has personally written to me pressing me to advance farther on to Kandhar and proposes that, when Abdally is thus crushed between our allied forces, he would recognise Attock as the frontier of our empire. But I do not know why we should confine ourselves to Attock. The two provinces of Kabul and Kandhar belong to our Hindustani Empire ever since the days of Akbar to Aurangzeb. Why then should we hand them over to the foreigners? I think that the King of Iran would be glad to confine himself to Iran and refrain from contesting our claim to Kabul and Kandhar. But whether he likes it or not, I have decided to treat them as a part of our empire and exercise our sway over them. Already the nephew of Abdally, who claims his position, has approached us, pressingly requesting help from us against Abdally. I mean to appoint him as our Governor of those parts of our empire that lie beyond the Indus and despatch some forces to back him up. For the time being, I must hasten back to the Deccan. My successors will see that these extensive designs bear fruit and our regular administration is introduced in the provinces of Kabul and Kandahar"—Sawarkar's Hindu-Pad-Padashahi, pages 90-91.

While Raghoba and Holkar were returning from the Attock and the Punjab, Jankoji Sindhia came to pay his respects to the Peshwa's brother, the victor of the Punjab. The interviews between Raghoba and

Sindhia and between Sindhia and Holkar were full of interesting home-thrusts[1]. Jankoji Sindhia and Holkar's Diwan Gangadhar Pant had also some passages-at-arms and smart retorts, which will show that the relations between Sindhia and Holkar were not as warm as they ought to have been[2] and as they certainly were when Ranojirao Sindhia was alive. Raghoba Dada returned to Poona in 1758. Malhar Rao directed his march towards the Capital of his province. Holkar chanced to meet Dattaji Sindhia near Ujjain[3] and both of them passed a few days in that holy city. Malhar

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(1) Jankoji Sindhia said to Raghoba Dada:— " दादासाहेब आपण सर्व हिंदुस्थान काबीज करून अटकेस झेंडे लाविले; आतां अझी कोणत्या प्रांतावर स्वारी करावी ? "

Raghoba Dada replied as follows:—"तुझी नजीबखानावर स्वारीकरून त्यास तेवढा ठार करा; अझींच त्याचे पारिपत्य केलें असतें परंतु तो मल्हारबाबास शरण गेल्यामुळें, त्याची भीड अझास तोडवेना, सबब ना इलाज झाला. या कार्या करीतां इतर कामें राहिली व कोट रूपयापर्यंत सेना खर्च बाढला तरी हरकत नाहीं; तितकाही अम्हीं देऊ; परंतु तेवढा नजीबखान मात्र तुझी नाहिसा केला पाहिजे."

(2) The root of all this trouble was Najib Khan Rohilla, as alluded to already. Vide Strachey's "Rohilla War". While Raghoba was returning to the Deccan, Dattaji Sindhia met him. Raghoba advised Dattaji to crush the influence of Najib Khan Rohilla. Dattaji had been to Shrigonde, near Ahmad-Nagar for his marriage.

(3) Dattaji was duly informed of the reconciliation between Holkar and Jankoji Rao Sindhia and hence requested Holkar to come to Ujjain and accept Sindhia's hospitality. It cannot but be mentioned that the warmth of affection that had existed between Malhar-

Rao then repaired to Indore to settle the affairs of his territories. At this time he received letters from his Vakeel at Poona that there was an absolute necessity of the presence of Holkar in Poona for the removal of much misunderstanding and some displeasure of the Peshwa, caused by the observations of Bhau Saheb, who severely criticized the action of the Sirdars in withholding annual payments and thereby augmenting the debts of the state. The expedition into Hindustan, though very important from the political point of view, was not a success from the financial stand point.Reports were received at Poona that Malhar Rao had enriched himself and withheld payments due for the state-debts.(1) When this

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Rao Holkar and Ranoji Rao Sindhia was not to be found in the relations then existing between Sindhia and Holkar.

How the ill feeling between Sindhia and Holkar gradually led to evil results is already described. Mr. Sardesai thus speaks of it:—

"शिंदे होळकरांचें भांडण बैक वर्षे धुमसत होतें, त्याचा आतां उघड वैरभाव बनला. या दोन आधारस्तंभांचे वैर हें नुसतें पानपताच्या अरिष्टाचें नव्हे तर एकंदर मराठेशाहीच्या नाशाचेच आद्य कारण आहे." P. 34, 3rd Volume.

(1) Vide "the Peshwa's Bakhar" in this connection, and also Atre pages 102-103. It is an unpleasant subject to dwell upon. For the details the reader should read the Bakhars, where the attitudes of the different parties are described. Raghoba, Bhau Saheb, and Malhar-Rao Holkar could not agree owing to reasons which are discussed later on in this work.

The reader should try to go through the excellent Introduction of Mr. Rajwade for his Khund dealing with the Maratha affairs from 1750 to 1761. Rajwade has exposed Holkar's conduct during this period.

distressing news about the displeasure of the Peshwa reached Malhar Rao, he set his house in order and prepared to start for Poona. Holkar sent Gangadharpant and Palshikar to Poona and himself went to Jejuri to pay homage to Shree Khandoba, whereafter he proceeded to Poona to wait upon the Peshwa and(1) secure his good will. Sadashiv Chimnaji, well known as Bhau saheb, was the Prime Minister of the Peshwa. He demanded detailed accounts of the expedition from Raghoba Dada, whom Bhou Saheb severely took to task for the deficit of about eighty lakhs.(2) Raghoba and

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(1) There is some mention of the cause of disagreement between Babu Saheb and Holkar in the Peshwa's Bakhar. Vide page 49.

"रामचंद्र बाबा शेणवी राणोजी शिंद्याचे दिवाण होते. त्यांच्या मरणानंतर जयप्पा रामचंद्र बाबास आपली दिवाणगिरी देईनात. तेव्हां त्यांनीं भाऊसाहेबांस कांहीं नजराणा देऊन त्यांच्या मध्यस्थीने शिंद्याची दिवाणगिरी पुन्हां मिळविण्याचा यत्न चालविला, परंतु त्या कामास मल्हारराबांनीं 'खो' आणल्यामुळें भाऊंचे व त्यांचें वांकडे पडलें"

Vide Ranojirao Sindhia by the present author for details regarding Bhausaheb's keen interest in Ramchandra Baba Shenvi, in whom Bajirao I had also much confidence.

(2) Bhausaheb and Raghoba were cousins. Bhau Saheb boldly put the following question to Raghoba:— स्वारीस जाऊन द्रव्य मिळवून आणावयाचे ते एकीकडेस राहून कर्ज घेऊन परत यावे हा कोठचा शहाणपणा ? "

Raghoba was silenced of course. Directly or indirectly some of the odium of this reproach fell to the share of Malhar Rao Holkar who was Raghoba's right hand in the expedition. Vide Peshwa's Bakhar. Raghoba determined not to undertake expeditions, leaving that work to Bhausaheb.

Bhau Saheb were thus opposed to each other and this estrangement led to fatal consequences ultimately, though the wise Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao[1] tried his best to avert the same. The strained relations between Bhau-Saheb and Raghoba led also to a great deal of estrangement between the Bhau and Malhar Rao Holkar. The Peshwa himself was, in no way, displeased with Holkar, but whatever displeasure might have arisen was due to the complaints of Bhau Sahib regarding the financial stress and the alleged selfishness of the Sirdars in neglecting the due payments for defraying the state debts[2].

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(1) The following extract will prove very interesting to our readers:— "कांहीं वेळानंतर नानासाहेब व भाऊसाहेब आपआपल्या तालीम खान्यांत गेले होते ते बाहेर आले. तेव्हां चौकीदाराने जाऊन त्यांस मुजरा करून विनंती केली कीं 'चार घटका झाल्या सुभेदार येऊन ओसरीवर निजले आहेत, हे ऐकून उभयतां, सुभेदार निजले होते तेथें गेले. निंबाजी नाईक जागा होता तो उठून उभयतांस मुजरा करून बाजुस उभा राहीला तेव्हां श्रीमंतांनीं विचारलें 'सुभेदार जागे आहेत की त्यास झोप लागली आहे.' नाईक म्हणाला जरा डोळा लागला आहे. हुकूम झाल्यास जागे करतो. सुभेदार अर्धघट जागे होते, ते हें ऐकून उठून उभयतां श्रीमंतास लवून रामराम करून हात जोडून उभे राहिले. तेव्हां श्रीमंत नानासाहेब पुढें येऊन त्यांचा हात धरून त्यासह तेथें च असलेल्या गादीवर बसले, आणि म्हणाले सुभेदार आपण आम्हांस रायांचे (बाजीराव साहेबांचे) ठिकाणी आहां"

This would clearly show the great regard which the Peshwa had for Soobhedar Malhar Rao Holkar.

(2) Bhausaheb was not wrong in the views he held. The Sirdars generally became, when the central power was found to be less watchful, so indifferent in sending the state dues that stringent measures

Malhar Rao duly gauged the gathering storm and attempted to pacify it by his tact and the undouted proof of faithful services he had rendered to the Peshwa, enhancing their effect by his liberal payment of rupees sixty Lakhs through the famous Sawkar Vishnu Mahadeo Gadre of Poona[1]. The humility and skilful eloquence of Malhar Rao combined with this magnificent payment prevailed in removing Bhau Saheb's displeasure and the evils that were likely to follow it. The Peshwa showed the utmost regard for Malhar Rao[2] on this occasion.

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had to be resorted to. This is an outcome of the pernicious system of hereditary Saramjams, which had its own merits as well as demerits. More on this point is unnecessary in this work.

(1) Mr. Gadre was one of the leading Sowkars of Poona during the Rule of Sawai Madhavrao. The Gadres had been leading bankers for several generations. There is an interesting anecdote in this connection and we present it to our readers:—"एक वेळ श्रीमंतांनीं वर्ष प्रतिपदेस असा हुकूम फर्माविला कीं, 'ज्या जवळ एक लक्ष रुपये असतील त्यानें एक गुढी उभारावी,' नंतर त्या दिवशीं तिसऱ्या प्रहरी स्वतः श्रीमंत अंबारीत बसून शहराचा थाट–अर्थात संपत्ती पहावयास निघालें. पहात पहात गद्रे यांच्या वाड्यापाशीं आले. तो थेट तळ मजल्यापासून तो तिसऱ्या मजल्यापर्यंत, एक सारखी गुढीशीं गुढी खेटून उभारली आहे असे त्यांच्या दृष्टीस पडलें."

(2) Malhar Rao thus addressed the Peshwa, who was greatly moved by Holkar's touching expressions:—" बाळाजीपंत नाना, अह्मी बाजीराव साहेबांचे आमदानतिं बेकैदी होतो; हूडपणानें जी कामें करूं नये ती केली. परंतु त्यांनीं सर्वोपरी वागवून घेऊन अह्मांस या योग्यतेस आणिले. आह्मीं म्हणजे चाकर, केवळ कोणतेही राजकारण त्यांच्या मसलती शिवाय करूं नये; हें कांहीं एक मनांत न आणतां, त्यांच्या

Malhar Rao Holkar remained for two months in the palace with the Peshwa and succeeded in firmly establishing the intimate relations which always existed between him and the Peshwa's relatives(1) and courtiers. The Peshwa himself treated Malhar Rao with great affection and regard. Bhau Saheb's anger was pacified(2) and

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लोभावर राजवाडे पदच्युत केले, बरतर्फ केले, पुन्हां बसविले, जें जें कांहीं केलें त्या सर्व कृत्यांस ते अनुमोदनच देत गेले. आपण हीं त्यांचेच चिरंजीव अहां तेव्हां त्यामार्गेंच चालेल असा चित्तास भरवसा होता; परंतु सांप्रतकाळीं आपली क्रूर दृष्टी पाहून डोळे उघडले, म्हणून एकटांच येऊन हाजर झालों. आपण धनी अहां व आह्मीं चाकर आहों, आमचे गुन्हे बालंबाल आहेत. तेव्हां पायांत बेड्या घालून किल्यावर ठाकावे, अथवा प्राण घ्यावा. किंवा काय पारिपत्य करणें असेल ते आपल्या इच्छे प्रमाणें करावे. मी हा हाजिर आहे.'— Vide Holkar's Kaifiyat.

Balaji Baji Rao keenly felt the words uttered by Malhar Rao Holkar and did his best to soothe the old warrior's agitated mind.

(1) How warm was the regard of the venerable old mother of the Peshwa for Malhar Rao would be evident from the following incident:—"...तेहां मातोश्री काशीबाई तेथें बसल्या होत्या, त्या म्हणाल्या, 'दोन प्रहरची वेळ झाली आहे भोजन करून जा' तेव्हां सुभेदार म्हणाले, 'तुह्मीं स्वतः स्वयंपाक करून आह्मां तिघांस वाढाल तर राहतो. तेव्हां काशी बाई मातोश्रीनी स्वतः स्वयंपाक करून तिघांस वाढले"

(2) Bhausaheb would not agree to dispose of the matter finally until the amount of sixty lakhs was actually paid by the Sawkar Gadre into the State exchequer.

".....तेव्हां मल्हारराव भाऊ साहेबांस म्हणाले आतां दौलतीचे कर्ज सर्व फिटले ना? तेव्हां भाऊसाहेब म्हणाले, 'आपणासारखें पुरुष गादीचे पुरस्कर्ते असल्यावर कर्ज कोठून राहील? परंतु यामध्यें माझ्यावर मात्र बाईटपणा आला! असो; आपण वडील अहां क्षमा करावी—"

Holkar's anxiety subsided, the Peshwa heartily supporting Holkar's cause and re-affirming his regard for the old warrior.

CHAPTER XIII.

Intelligence of the humiliating defeat of his Governor of Sir Hind, and of the disgraceful expulsion of his son Shaha Timur from the Punjab, reached Abdalli immediately after the occurrence of these events. Perhaps he never thought that the sturdy soldiers of Kandahar would be made, to use Elplimstone swords, "to retire beyond the Indus.(1)" After the occurrence of such a sad event his mortification must have been very great indeed. No wonder then that the Shaha of the Afghans exerted himself to the utmost to retrieve his tarnished honour. A short time after this Ahmadshaha Abdali started with an immense force for India. The account of the Shah's skirmishes with the petty advanced guards of the Marathas need not be given here in detail. Jotiba and Dattaji Sindhia had been killed and Malhr Rao retired towards the South(2). Accounts of the reverses

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(1) Vide "the Marathas and the Mogals" by the present writer pages 98-100.

(2) Malhar Rao suffered a defeat at the hands of the Afgans near Sikandra, while he was lamenting Sindhia's untimely death. At this time of grief and distress, the wise advice tendered by Gautam-Bai to Malhar Rao Holkar is worthy of a warrior's wife:—

'तुम्ही चांगले शूर, अनुभवी व पोक्त सरदार असून या समयीं शोक करीत बसला हें काय? दत्ताजी आणि जनकोजी कालची पोरें; त्यांनीं एवढा पराक्रम केला, आणि तुम्ही रडत बसला! जनकोजी शिंदे जखमी असून त्यांच्या बरोबर बायका माणसें दुःखी कष्टी आहेत; तर त्यास भेटून त्यांचे समाधान करावे. हेंच तुम्हांस सध्यां योग्य आहे.'

Vide Holkar's Kaifiyat and Mr. Atre's "Life of Malhar Rao Holkar" page 119.

in Hindustan reached the Peshwa in the February of 1760 and he lost no time in consulting the veteran statesmen and generals of the Maratha Empire. Raghoba was first considered as the leader of the expedition that the Peshwa intended to send against the Afgans, but he had incurred a debt of about eighty lakhs of rupees while on his famous expedition to the Punjab in 1756-1757 and consequently the general opinion of the Poona Court went against him (1). After consultation it was finally decided that Sadashivrao Bhau who had gained a glorious victory and had humbled the Nizam at Udgir in 1760,(2) should be invested with the honour of commanding the whole force. Bhausaheb had several objects in view in accepting the command of this expedition. One of them was to be at a distance from the Peshwa's family and house-hold at Poona, where domestic feuds had already sprung up. The other was to secure for himself a position of honour and independence. Bhau saheb had the greatest affection for Vishwasrao, the eldest son of the Peshwa, and it was his ultimate ambition, if not his present intention, to place Vishwasrao on the Imperial throne at Delhi and secure for himself the

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(1) The Peshwa was at Ahmadnagar at this time, while Bhau Sahib and Viswas Rao were at Udgir, where the Nizam was defeated some time ago. At once the Peshwa wrote to his brother to come with the army to see him. They met at Putdur on the 7th of March, 1760, when for a full week the whole subject was exhaustively discussed by the Peshwa with the Sirdars and the Generals. It was unanimously agreed that Bhausahib should be the leader of the expedition. On the 14th of March 1760 Bhao sahib started from the town of Putdur with his forces for Hindustan, the Peshwa's son Viswas Rao also accompanying him.



BHOW SAHIB OF PANIPAT.

post of Grand Vazeer[1]. This was by no means a mean motive, but fortune pointed the other way. About Bhou Sahib's main object of securing the whole power in Hindustan, Mr. Rajwade makes the following petinent observations:—

"सातारच्या छत्रपतींची पेशवाई करून पेशव्यांनीं महाराष्ट्रांतील सर्व सत्ता जशी आपल्या हातांत घेतली तशीच दिल्लीच्या पातशाहाची वजिरी करून सर्व हिंदुस्थानची सत्ता कायदेशीर रीतीनें, विशेष बोभाट न होतां व लोकांची मनें न दुखवितां, मिळवावयाची असा सदाशिवरावांचा विचार होता. हा हेतु यवनांच्या ध्यानांत आल्याबरोबर ते आपले पूर्वीचे तंटे विसरले व एकजुटीनें मराठ्यांशीं सामना करण्यास सिद्ध झाले."
(राजवाडेकृत 'मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाची साधनें' १७५० ते १७८०, पान ८०).

It is a remarkable circumstance that since the return of Raghoba to Poona, the military operations in Hindustan were entrusted to the care of spirited and brave, yet inexperienced and young officers. The veteran generals and officers were either at Poona or engaged to the Southward with the exception of Malhar Rao Holkar, on whom fortune ceased to smile during the operations of the Marathas in Hindustan in 1760-1761[2].

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(1) Had Bhausaheb's life been spared at Panipat, undoubtedly he would have carried out his ambition, as he was a person who never yielded to opposition and was, at the same time, possessed of great talents and ability, though he was of fiery temper.

(2) The meeting of the old warrior Malhar Rao Holkar with the young spirited Jankoji Sindhia was the occasion of a smart retort from Sindhia, when Holkar proposed that Sindhia should retire with Holkar beyond the Chambal to the Gwalior Fort, leaving Ramajipant (Sindhia's officer) and Gangadhar Pant (Holkar officer) with some force in the

The glorious victory at Udgir in 1760, in which the Nizam was defeated by Bhausaheb, brought many territorial advantages and much wealth. Moreover the said victory was won through the uncommonly satisfactory behavior of the regular army,(1) which Bhausaheb had called into existence for the first time in the Peshwa's regime. It was natural, therefore, that the Bhau Saheb should feel inclined to lead the Panipat expedition and depend mainly on the regular army.(2) The pomp and splendour of this grand expedition beggar description. It is mentioned in the Maratha records (Bakhars) that the grand-

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Districts about Delhi. Jankoji Sindhia said:— "..... सुभेदार तुह्मी वडील अहां बायकामुलें व बुणगे घेऊन तुह्मी जा. माझा कृत निश्चयच आहे कीं जेथें काकांचा देह पडला तेथें आपला देह टाकावा." Holkar was much enraged by this reply.

(1) The old guerrilla war-fare was neglected during the Panipat expedition. Some believes that this was not the proper course in dealing with the Afgans.

Bhao Sahib is described in the Maratha records as "सर्वज्ञ" (versatile genius) while Raghoba's regime is spoken of with derision in these terms:—प्रस्तूत दरबारी कारभार दादासाहेबांकडे आहे. दोन प्रहर पावेतों स्नान संध्या. तृतीय प्रहरी कारभार करणार. लोकांचा परिणाम कसा लागतो.

(2) Ibrahimkhan Gardi, (the brave and faithful commander of the Regular Army, thus accosted Bhau Saheb:— या मोहिमेत जर तुह्मी नेहमींप्रमाणें गनीमी काव्याप्रमाणें लढाई कराल तर मला बरोबर येण्यास हुकुम होऊं नये. कारण मला इतराप्रणाणें धुमा ठोकण्यास पाय नाहींत. " Where-upon Bhou Sahib promised that "वेळ प्रसंग पडल्यास आम्ही तुम्हास सोडून जाणार नाहीं. तुम्ही धैर्यानें जेथें राहाल तेथें आम्ही राहू."

eur and magnificance of Bhau Saheb's camp were even greater thant those of the Moguls in their palmiest days.

Malhar Rao Holkar's views were not agreeable to Bhau Saheb and his advisers.(1) He asked the Bhau to remain in Malwa or near Gwalior and to send the reinforcements to the Sirdars who were engaged in opposing the Abdalli's forces. Bhau Saheb, however, persisted in his plans of advancing with the expedition, disregarding Holkar's letter.

The treachery and faithlessness of Najeebkhan, the protege of Holkar, had been clearly perceived by Sindhia, whom the crafty Rohilla drew into a net of overwhelming difficulties.(1) Najib did not stop his evil plans till the last(I). The letters written by Najibkhan to the Emperor were intercepted by the Vazir, Gaziuddin, who

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(1) Holkar was slighted secretly by Bhou Saheb and Mehendale in terms which almost bordered on an insult, but Malhar Rao quietly put up with it, as the Bhou Sahib was a powerful man, strongly supported by Sindhia and other Sirdars, and Holkar's opposition or protest would have been of no avail. Holkar therefore naturally thought discretion to be the better part of valour and obeyed orders that were issued to him, but did nothing of his own accord. The result was that Malhar Rao Holkar could not be of much use in the Panipat Campaign.

(2) "The instrucions given by Raghoba to the young and spirited Jankojt Rao were extremely noteworthy. Had Najeeb Khan's power been annihilated, as enjoined by Raghunath Rao, the Mogal combination against the Marathas would certainly have been destroyed and the disaster of Panipat would have been averted. It is well known that Najeeb Khan was the central figure in the whole plot and the most active member of the conspiracy. Abadali was able to get substantial help and support from Nazib Khan. Sujad Dowla's part would have been life-

assassinated the Emperor and hastened to meet Dattaji Sindhia. Gaziuddin disclosed the whole danger to Sindhia, informing him that the Afgan army had actually arrived in the vicinity of Panipat and that the hope of receiving two crores from the Mogals was entirely vain, as the Mogals, backed by Najib Khan and the Afgans, would not only withhold the payment but make Sindhia's escape from the difficult situaion an impossibilty. Dattaji Sindhia soon perceived the calamity that was ready to overtake him and sent urgent letters to Holkar to come without delay to help him.(1) Holkar was very late in going to

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less, had Najeeb Khan, been removed from the scene:—Vide Rajwade's Khand (1750-1761) page 58-59. We have shown in our previous work that Holkar was not responsible for the future misdeeds of Najeeb Khan—Vide Tukoji Rao Holkar's Life by the present writer page 22.

(1) Dattaji Sindhia's letters were in the following terms:— तुम्ही जयपुर शहरचा (वेढा) सोडून जर लागलीच इकडे याल तर तुमची आमची भेट होईल नाहीं तर हीच पत्राची भेट."

Mr. Rajwade has severely commented on Malhar Rao Holkar's suspicious conduct in remaining in the Jaipur territory at that critical time. Mr. Rajwade observes as follows on this point:— " ..... ह्याच वेळीं रसदेच्या पैशा संबंधानें पेशव्यांचे व मल्हारबांचे वैमनस्य आलें. १७५९ त दत्ताजी शिंद्याचे व अबदालीचें युद्ध चाललें असतां मल्हारराव जयपूर प्रांतीं लहान सहान गढ्या घेत बसला व दत्ताजीला त्यानें मदत केली नाहीं. दत्ताजीला मदत करण्यास जाण्याविषयीं बाळाजी बाजीरावानें मल्हाररावाला वरींच पत्रें पाठविलीं. परंतु दत्ताजी बदाउंच्या (१० जानेवारी १७६०) लढाईत पडून जनकोजी कोटपुतळीस पळून येई तो पर्यंत (१२ जानेवारी १७६०) मल्हाररावानें जयपूर प्रांत सोडिला नाहीं. ह्या दहा पंधरा वर्षाच्या हालचालीवरून मल्हारराव होळकरांच्या

the relief of Sindhia. On his way he chanced to meet Jankoji Sindhia's troops, from whom he heard the evil news of Dattaji Sindhia's disaster and death. Malhar-Rao fell senseless in his Ambari, when that heart-rending news reached him. After much lamentation, discussion and friction, at last Malhar Rao was persuaded by his sagacious and noble-hearted wife Gaotamabai to remain with Jankoji Sindhia near the centre of the war with the Afghans, after sending their families to their homes in Malwa.(2) Thus Jankoji Sindhia and Malhar Rao Holkar, at last, agreed to unite their efforts to oppose the Afghans and uphold the Maratha cause on the theatre of war, for the prosecution of which the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao sent a grand expedition(1) which was advancing towards Delhi under the leadership of Bhow Sahib.

मनाची स्थिति ताडतां येते. सन १७६० त तर ह्या कलुषतेचा कळस होऊन होळकराची मदत मिळाली नाहीं म्हणून दत्ताजीचा नाश झाला."—
Rajwade's Introduction p. 53.

(1) Gaotamabai was a lady of great fortitude. She offered the consolation and the advice that was expected from a warrior's devoted wife. Holkar gathered courage and agreed to remain on the spot and fight the afgans by guerrilla tactics. At first Holkar advised Jankoji Sindhia to cross the Chambal and remain at a distance with their families, away from the seat of danger. Jankoji Sindhia's words deserve to be remembered by every brave man. Jankoji said to Malhar Rao:—

"Subhedar, as an elderly person you should go with the women and children and the non-combatants. It is my firm resolve to fall where fell the body of my uncle."

Sindhia and Holkar received letters from Bhow Saheb inquiring whether the expedition ought to reach the theatre of war at once or by slow paces. Malhar Rao advised Bhow Sahib to remain at a sufficient distance from the seat of war, but the advice was treated with ridicule and never acted upon. The expedition crossed the Chambal by the Dholepur Ghat despite the remonstrances of Malhar Rao, backed by those of Vithal Shivadeo Vinchurkar, and proceeded to Agra, whence it marched to Brindawan and Mathura and reached Delhi, where Surajmal Jat soon after arrived with his force and was cordially received by the Bhow Sahib in the Maratha camp. Bhow Sahib's stay at Delhi was rather long and several important functions were planned and carried out, more or less, against the wishes of Holkar. As soon as Maratha influence was established in the Imperial city, Bhow Sahib (if we believe Malhar Rao Holkar's account of the expedition) proclaimed Vishwas Rao Emperor of India and appointed Naro Shunkar Rajah Bahadur to the office of Vazir. Bhow Sahib next broke the Imperial throne in retaliation for the insult offered by the Mogals to the throne of Shivaji at Raigad. The Audience Hall was deprived of its silver ceiling and all the Imperial ornaments together with all the valuable property were seized and put into the melting pot. It is, however, worth mentioning that no harm

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(1) The Peshwa issued orders to Damaji Gaekawad, Yeshwant Rao Powar, Sonaji Bhapkar, Shumsher Bahadur, Ibrahim Khan Gardi, Hari Damodar, Tukoji and Mahadji Sindhia, Bulwantrao Gunput Mehendale, Vithal Shivadeo Vinchurkar, Naro Shankar, and others to accompany the expedition with their contingents.

whatever was done to any living being at Delhi, a line of conduct well suited to a high-minded Hindu conqueror. Neither the citizens of Delhi were plundered nor its daughters were polluted during Bhow Sahib's or Naro Shankar's regime at Delhi. Before dwelling, however, on the operations on the field of Panipat, it is proper to take some notice of the victory of the Marathas at Kunjapura, where Kutabshah, who had cut off the head of Dattaji Sindhia, resided. The Abdali's garrison at this place was 15,000 strong. The Marathas formed themselves into three divisions and commenced the attack with great vigour. Nearly 7,000 Afghans lay dead on the battlefield. Jankoji Sindhia's favourite elephant, which had been taken away by the Duranis after Dattaji Sindhia's death, was now restored to its master by the orders of Bhow Sahib. Kutabshah's fate, after the Maratha victory, can easily be imagined. He had cut off Dattaji Sindhia's head in the most cruel manner, while Sindhia lay wounded on the battlefield. Kutubshah approached and asked him " Patel, will you fight ? " The valiant Dattaji Sindhia sternly replied. " If by the grace of God I live, I will fight." What Kutubshah then had the meanness to perpetrate is well known. The wrath of Bhow Sahib was beyond measure, when Kutubshah was brought before him. "Did you cut off Dattaji Sindhia's head ?" was the only question which Kutub Shah was asked by Bhow Sahib. He did not listen to the noble remontrance of Jankoji Sindhia, who evinced great magnanimity and true Hindu forgiveness by saying "save Kutubshah, my Lord, and make him the instrument of some advantage to the Marathas. Dattaji Sindhia will not come to life

again even if Kutub is beheaded". Bhow Sahib[1] at once issued orders that Kutub should be decapitated in the presence of the Maratha army. Bhow Sahib spared the life of the son-in-law of Najeebkhan who was severely tortured to make him show the place, where the secret treasure of Nazeeb was deposited. After raising the Abdali's fortifications at Kunjpura to the ground, the Marathas started for Panipat.[2] Ahmad Shah Abdali was very

(1) Bhow Sahib had a very great regard for Dattaji Sindhia and when the news of Sindhia's death reached the Bhow at Manjra, he forgot for a moment the great victory won by him at Udgir in 1760.

(2). The battle of Kunjapura is well described in the following verses by Mr. Ackworth in his Metrical translation of the Ballads of the Marathas:—

"The hostile troops were scatter'd
Like leaves the wind has spread,
The conquerors seiz'd on Kootub
And lopp'd his tow'ring head.
Men feared the Deccan hero,
And saw his fame increase;
The Abdallee heard and trembled,
And humbly begged for peace."

Through Najeeb Khan's aid, Ahmadshah Abdali obtained sufficient supplies and uptodate information about the Maratha camp and its condition.

"For peace the weary foemen,
For peace their leader pray'd,
Two crores of coined silver
Before the Bhao were laid.
But ruin dogg'd his foot steps,
His ears were deaf to prayer;
"Slaves," said he, "haste to fly my war,
"Wait my approach in Kandahar"
"And bring your off' rings there."
— "Ballads of the Marathas." p. 59 by Acworth.

desirous of relieving the Durani garrison at Kunjapura, which was under an officer of distinction. When Abdali heard of Bhowsahib's approach to the place, the former hastened his march so as to arrive there in time to help the garrison. But the river Jumna was still swollen. Before he crossed it at a ford found by him, he had, to use Elphinstone's words, "the mortification to hear that the place had been taken and the whole garrison put to the sword." Ahmad Shah Abdali was much enraged at this disgrace inflicted almost in his presence.



CHAPTER XIV.

The Marathas at Panipat.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT. MALHAR RAO'S CHARACTER CLEARED.

After their victory at Kunjpura the Marathas advanced to Panipat, where they resolved on having an entrenchment around their camp. Upto this time the Maratha warfare was quite different. They fought when they found a position of advantage; if otherwise, they retired, harassing the enemy and intercepting their supplies. The enormous number of the Maratha camp followers and sight-seers tended to enhance their difficulty(1).

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(1) Bhow Sahib never had any apprehensions about the result of his expedition nor was he afraid of the power of Abdalli. He made friends with the Jat Chief of Bharatpore, as the following extract shows:—

".....मथुरेस आल्यावर याच वेळीं अधिक श्रावणमास असल्यानें सर्वांनीं तेथील यात्रा स्वस्थपणें व निर्विघ्नपणें सिद्धिस नेली. समोरच्या तीरावर अबदाली होता, त्याची यत्किंचित पर्वा कोणास वाटली नाहीं. मथुरावृंदावनांतील तीर्थांचे व देवदर्शनांचें सुंदर वर्णन नाना फडणीसानें केलें आहे. याच ठिकाणीं भरतपूरचा राचा सूरजमल जाठ शिंदे होळकरांच्या मध्यस्थीनें सदाशिवरावांच्या भेटीस आला. त्यांस एक कोस सामोरें जाऊन सदाशिवरावानें त्याचा बहुमान केला, आणि हत्ती, घोडे वगैरे नजर करून त्याची मदत संपादन केली. एकमेकांस अंतर न देण्याविषयीं उभय पक्षीं यमुनेच्या उदकानें आणभाव झाली. जाटानें आपली फौजही बरोबर आणली असून मराठ्यांस सर्व रसद पोंचविण्याची त्याने हमी घेतली." Sardesai's Panipat Prakarna p. 180.

The Maratha regular forces were 70,000 strong. Of this force, fifty-five thousand were cavalry and fifteen thousand infantry, with two hundred pieces of connon. They had a large number of Pindharees and camp followers amounting to nearly two hundred thousand persons. The Abdali's regular force consisted of 41,000 horse and 38,000 foot with 70 guns. The irregular force of the Afghans probably amounted to an equal number or even more. It is thus easy to calculate that there was a decided disparity in the regular forces on the two sides, Abdali's regular infantry outnumbering that of the Marathas by 23.000 men. The Marathas were superior in their cavalry, which exceeded that of the Abdali by 14,000. Unfortunately the Maratha horse was not used more than once, and on that particular occasion, the 29th November 1760, the Marathas can justly be said to have won the day, as "the Afghans were broken, and upwards of two thousand of them were killed." (Grant Duff). It was a lamentable mistake that the Marathas depended on their regular infantry which was outnumbered by that of the Afghans. It may be then said with justice that the contest between the two armies was an unequal one, the advantage being decidedly on the side of the Durani-Shah. On the last day, the whole burden fell on the infantry of the Marathas and as their infantry was smaller in number than that of the Duranis, Ahmad Shah had naturally the whiphand of the Marathas. One of the most important engagements took place on the 23rd of December, 1760, when Bhow Sahib, Mehendale, Jankoji Sindhia, Malhar Rao Holkar and others attacked Shah Wulleekhan and surrounded him. Najeebkhan came to his aid but to no purpose. Najeebkhan was over-

powered by Bulvantrao Mehendale and three thousand of his Rohilla troops were killed. In the moment of victory, Mehendale was killed by a cannon ball when Bhow Sahib was overwhelmed with grief at the death of Mehendale, an officer of courage and experience. Several engagements continued to take[1] place between the Maratha and the Durani armies. The supplies of the Marathas began to fail and their miserable condition of starvation was unbearable. They told Bhow Sahib that they were ready to die by the sword but detested death by starvation. Bhowsahib agreed to their plan of winning the day, or dying on the battle-field. At length the fatal day, the 7th of January 1761, came when they prepared for a desparate action. Upto the last moment it was hoped that peace would be made, but the treacherous Najeebkhan Rohilla persuaded the Shah to reject that idea of making a peace with the Marathas.[2] The Marathas left their entrenched camp an hour before the break of morning, the 7th January, to win the battle or to die a heroic death on the field of Kurukshetra.

The battle commenced with a general connonade from the contending parties. Ibrahimkhan Gardi and Damaji Gaekwad advanced resolutely against the Rohillas. Jankoji Sindhia, who defended the right side of the Maratha army particularly distinguished himself

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(1) The plan of the battle is given in the Bhow Sahib's Bakhar ("Chronicles") Vide Appendix.

(2) That Ahmad Shah Abdali was in despair and inclined to make peace is beyond doubt. But Najeeb Khan compelled him to hold on, knowing that Maratha provisions were on the point of being exhausted.

against Najeebkhan and Shah Pasandkhan. Bhow Sahih and Vishwas Rao were in the centre of the Maratha ranks and opposite to the grand Vazeer Shah Vallee Khan. At about 12 O'clock the Bhow and Vishwas Rao made a most terrible charge on the centre of the Abdal's forces and repulsed the grand Vazeer's troops, who began to fly in a confused manner. Shah Vallee khan tried to bring them back by his exhortations but Bhow Sahib's charge was so unbearable that most of the Afghans gave way. Ibrahim Khan Gardi performed prodigies of valour. Though wounded, he still continued to engage the Rohillas, of whom nearly 8000 lay dead or disabled on the field of battle. The Afghans were thus repulsed by the gallant Ibrahimkhan. At about 1 p. m. at the very moment when victory was on the point of gracing the Maratha arms the Vazeer's troops repeated their onsets on the centre of the Maratha army, where the Bhow and Vishwas Rao bravely met and repulsed the attacks. Unfortunately, however, Vishwas Rao[1], while gallantly fighting and repulsing the Afghan

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(1) About Vishwas Rao the Ballads of the Marathas speak as follows:—

But Vishwas Rao the hero,
Young hope of all the state
His valour and his fortune
Ah, how shall hard relate",

Acworth.

"The fate of the Bhaosaheb is not accurately known, but no doubt he fell in the battle. The defeat was the most terrible one which the Marathas ever suffered as an united nation, but the Afgan losses were also immense, and after the battle Ahmad Shah Abdali retired to Afganistan and never again interfered in Indian affairs".

—Acworth. page 56.

attack, received a mortal wound from a gunshot. This mishap turned the tide of success and decided the fate of the battle. Bhow Sahib, crushed by the lamentable death of Vishwas Rao, whom he loved ardently, descended from his elephant, and riding a high-mettled Arab charger plunged into the midst of the raging battle and was never seen again. Before expiring, Vishwas Rao had strongly expressed his desire that Bhow sahib should refrain from grief at that critical moment and should not get down from his elephant as thereby the Maratha army would feel disheartened. But Bhow Sahib was unyielding. "I will either deprive Abdali of his life or give up my own on the battlefield" were the last words he was heard to utter before disappearing in the din and tumult of the fierce fight. The fatal consequences were now inevitable.

After the disappearance of the Bhow and Vishwas-Rao the Maratha army, disheartened at the loss caused by the death of their generals, began to disperse. Tukoji Sindhia, however, remained with Bhow Sahib and probably perished with him. Jankoji Sindhia and Ibrahim Khan

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(1) About Jankoji Rao the following lines occur in the Ballads of the Marathas and may impart much agreeable information as to his valour etc.,

"Now mounted gallant Jankoji,,
The chief of Sindhia's name,
To save Maratha honour,
With fiery speed he came,
Loudly the Bhow besought him,
And his high heart was stirred,
As pealing over the tumult,
His leader's voice he heard."—Acworth

Gardi, both of whom were severely wounded, were amongst those that were taken prisoners. Nana Phadanavis, Mahadaji Scindia, Vithal Shivdeo Vinchoorkar and some others escaped the danger by a timely flight from the field. Malhar Rao Holkar with the family of Bhowsahib retraced his steps towards Gwalior. The cruelty which the Maratha captives experienced at the hands of the Dhuranees beggars description. "To the eternal disgrace of themselves and of humanity, they took out the unfortunate victims and divided them in their camp. They amused themselves in cutting off their heads." These words from the pen of Grant Duff would enable the reader to form an estimate of the extent of their cruelty and barbarity. Through the kindness of Umraoger Gosavi and his laudable exertions, the bodies of Vishwas Rao "the king of the unbelievers," Tukoji Sindhia, Santaji Wagh and Yeshwant Rao Powar were rescued from Abdalli's possession and cremated with all due ceremonies, with the help of the Brahmans and the Marathas, who were in the Gosavi's camp. Samsher Bahadar had left the field with severe wounds[1]. He died of a broken heart under the hospitable roof of Surajmal Jat, whose kindness towards the Marathas at that time of severe distress deserves especially to be gratefully acknowledged by the whole Maratha Nation.

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(1) Bhow Sahib had called Jankoji Rao for aid, when Somaji Bhopkar and many other Sardars were flying from the field leaving their master to his fate.—Jankoji Rao Sindhia stood high in Bhow Sahib's estimation.

Ibrahim khan Gardi and Samsher Bahadur were with Bhow Sahib till he was killed and they disappeared amidst the tumult. Grant Duff.



NANA PHADNAVIS.

The lamentable fate of Jankojirao Sindhia must be told in some detail. It is probable that he would have been saved if Najibkhan Rohilla, whose enmity to the name of Sindhia was implacable and by whose counsels Ahmadshah Abdali was generally guided, had not been present on the spot. He prevailed upon the Shah to have Jankoji dispatched. Raja Kashirai, the Agent of Shuja Uddaula, exerted himself to the utmost to save Jankoji's life but in vain. Equally abortive were the attempts of Sujauddawlla, who remembering the favours conferred by Ranoji Rao Sindhia on Mansurali (Sujauddawlla's father), was anxious to see that at least Jankoji Rao was safe. In spite of all these intercessions, Jankoji Rao Sindhia fell a victim to the deep-rooted enmity which Najibkhan Rohilla bore towards the Sindhias. This Rohilla chief had been saved, only a few months ago, by Dattaji Sindhia and he was looked upon as a son by Malhar Rao Holkar ! Ibrahimkhan Gardee was also put to the sword, because he had, in Ahmad Shaha's opinion, committed the unpardonable crime of fighting on the side of the "King of Kaffirs." Thus

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(1) Sujauddowlla was the foremost in entreating Ahmadshah Abdali to save Jankoji Sindhia.

See Strachey's Rohilla war. The Marathas were in fact mad with the thought of wreaking vengeance on Najibkhan. How they disregarded all feelings of pity in their dealings with him will be best understood by a perusal of the pages of "Rohilla war" by Sir John Strachey.

(1) Ibrahim Khan Gardi before being beheaded, was brought before Ahmad Shah and was asked whether he would fight again on

Bhao and Vishwas Rao, together with several sardars and generals like Jankoji Sindhia, Yeshwant Rao Powar, Tukoji Rao Sindhia, Ganpat Rao Mehendale and others nobly sacrificed their precious lives for the sake of Maharashtra and left the whole Maratha Nation to mourn the untimely and unfortunate termination of their conspicuously promising careers. But at the same time they undoubtedly furnished a cause for the whole of Maharasbtra to be proud of the heroism and patriotism displayed by them on the plains of Panipat. If they made any mistakes, they atoned for them by the sacrifice of their lives.

When the news of increasing distress and hardship of the Marathas, owing to the failure of provisions and other causes, reached the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, he set out from the Deccan and came along with Jankoji Bhosle as far as the Narmada, which they were about to cross, when the sad intelligence of the fate of Bhow and Vishwas Rao and the whole Maratha force was brought to him by a Jasud bound for the Deccan. Tenderhearted as the Peshwa was, he was overwhelmed with grief and it was feared that he might lose his wits. His physical strength was very soon undermined and the amiable and eminent Peshwa died in the month of June 1761 at the Temple of Parwati, an interesting place in the vicinity of Poona.

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the side of his Maratha Sovereign. The gallant Ibrahim fearlessly said that if by God's grace his life was spared, he would instantly go to the Deccan, collect an army and fight again with the Shah for the cause of his Sovereign, the Peshwa of Poona, whose salt he (Ibrahim khan) had eaten so long. The fidelity of Ibrahimkhan Gardi is entitled to praise.—Vide Grant Duff and Elphinstone for details.

The fact that the Peshwa had collected a large army to reinforce the Marathas at Panipat and had advanced as far as the Narmada with Janoji Bhosle shows that those are wrong, who assert that the Maratha power was crushed and their resources exhausted by the disaster of Panipat. Although it may seem somewhat paradoxical, it is still a fact that the Maratha Power was more formidable, not before, but after the battle of Panipat. It was in the reign of the Great Madhao Rao Ballal that the Maratha power was at its greatest height, when the Great Peshwa was, to use Captain Grant Duff's weighty words, " courted by the English and Mohomad Ali on the one side and Haidar-ali of Mysore on the other". If the Marathas were crushed at Panipat, how was it that within a very short time Dehli, Rohilkhand and almost the whole of Northern and Southern India quietly submitted to the Peshwa's suzerainty ? The terror of Madhao Rao's name was such that Hyderali(1) preferred a humiliating flight to an engagement with the Peshwa. The fact therefore is that neither was the Maratha power crushed nor were their resources exhausted by the Panipat disaster. The Marathas seemed, says Sir John Strachey, "to have become as formidable as before the disaster at Panipat".

Why the Marathas with their vaunted military strength suffered at Panipat is a question very likely to be asked. Among the many causes that brought on the disaster, the following may be said to be of considerable im-

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(1) Mr. Sardesai has recently published an interesting biography of Peshwa Madhao Rao I in Marathi.

portance. Two of the chief causes of the disaster were (a) That Vishwas Rao was mortally wounded, while after stubborn fight, the Marathas were on the point of gaining a victory; and (b) that Bhao sahib, in spite of the last wish of the gallant Vishwas Rao, descended from his elephant and mixed himself in the confusion, when he ought to have collected his men just as Ahmadshah Abdalli did and compelled them to return and fight. At least he ought to have remained on the elephant cheering up the Marathas who were fighting valiantly. When the Bhao descended from his elephant and disappeared, his army was naturally disheartened by the absence of their general and it eventually dispersed. That this view is correct will appear to be true from the following extract from an old historical work:— "In the wars with the Asiatics alone, wehave a much greater dvantage in heir being so very tenacious of their old manners than in their want of bravery. Not only the Prince himself but every Raja who has a command of all the forces he can bring into the field, be they more or less, always appears among them mounted on an elephant and is at once the General and ensign or standard of that corps, who keep their eyes on him constantly and if they lose sight of him for a moment conclude that all is lost. Thus we find Aurangzeb gained two battles by the treachery of those, who desired his two victorious brothers to get down from their elephants, mount their horses and pursue the vanquished."(1)

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(1) Vide R. O. C. Combridge's "War on the Coromandal Coast." This temporary union of Moghal chiefs was due to the exertions of

The Maratha troops, missing their leader, immediately dispersed. That victory inclined to the Marathas, before Bhao Sahib's descent from his elephant on hearing of Vishwas Rao's mortal wound, can be ascertained from the pages of Grant Duff's History of the Marathas. (c) The Marathas depended more on their infantry which was far inferior in numbers to that of the Shah, while they ought to have engaged the Maratha Horse. (d) The misery of the Marathas unfortunately obstructed by an entrenched camp was heightened by the failing provisions. Large numbers died of hunger in the Maratha camp, while through the friendly co-operation of Sujaud-doulla and Najibkhan Rohilla, the local knowledge and indefatigable activity of the latter being especially of the greatest value to the Shah, the Durani camp was in better situation, with respect both to procuring provisions and obtaining intelligence about the movements of the Marathas. While all the neighbouring Mussalman chiefs "helped the Shah," the spirited Bhao had none to help him but himself and his army. Moreover, if the Shah had been deprived of the co-operation of Nazibkhan, whose activity and local influence were very great, the

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Najibkhan Rohilla who beguiled the Marathas by false temptations and promises.

"The Bhow once more resorted to negotiation, but his concessions were inadequate, or the Abdali was bent on the destruction of a power which has so often threatened the extinction of the Mooslim name. Sadashio Bhao received the account of the rejection of his overtures with the utmost calmness. The only resource was victory, and he prepared for action with the resolution of a man determined to conquer or to die."—Scott Waring.

Shaha's power would have been greatly diminished. Alas that Holkar, Dattaji Sindhia, and Govindpant Bundele should have persisted, in spite of Nana Sahib's, Jankoji Rao's and Raghoba's timely remonstrances, in allowing Najibkhan to escape scot-free from the Maratha camp! (e) The number of the Shaha's followers, the fighting men and the camp followers, may be said to be nearly of one lakh, while that of the Marathas nearly two lakhs, whom more than two fifths were camp followers who served more to add to Bhao Sahib's distress than to assist the Maratha fighting men. These were mere sight-seers, who had come to see "Muzza' of Hindusthan and who afterwards were butchered by the Afgans. Of the Maratha fighting men almost all, like the immortal Spartans, fell by the sword and only a few had the disgrace to be cut off by the Afgans after the battle. Perhaps it may appear to the reader a fable to say that more than two-fifths of the total number of the Marathas were mere camp followers, but it is unfortunately a fact. The Marathas for a long time past had been unacquainted with danger. The Maratha arms were continually victorious and their power was really irresistible. Continued success in all the expeditions, which they had undertaken, had also induced them to think lightly of the present campaign. Their conjecture naturally was that Ahmadshah Abdali would probably retire. There was, no doubt, much of truth in this conjecture, for the Shah had frequently expressed his painful thoughts of utter despair (Vide Grant Duff) and it was considered probable that a peace would follow. It has been already explained how unexpectedly the disaster came like a thunderbolt from the blue heavens. Finally it should

be distinctly known that these helpless creatures, the innumerable sight-seers and camp-followers, were butchered and nearly half of them perished on the field of battle, owing to the barbarous cruelties of the Afghans.

But the result of the battle was also disastrous to the Afgans. Supposing however that the Duranis were fortunate enough to suffer nothing and also that they were totally victorious, the question arises why they desisted from availing themselves of their victory by establishing their power or at least their influence in Northern India after having the good fortune of finding the field clear of their rivals and opponents, the Marathas? If the Duranis had obtained, as is sometimes alleged by some writers, a complete victory over the Marathas, they ought undoubtedly to have been incited by such a glorious success to exert themselves for more brilliant and profitable conquests in Hindustan, for very naturally a great victory tends greatly to increase the ambition of the victors. But the Durains did nothing of the kind after their victory over the Marathas! Abdali had come to India not less than four times previous to this battle. He had advanced as far as Mathura, where as usual he disgraced himself by a ruthless carnage of the innocent citizens and then returned with much plunder. Now that he was (to continue the above supposition) completely victorious at Panipat, it was as a matter of course expected of him that he would have attempted to extend his conquests further or consolidate his power and influence. Victory served as a stimulus to bring Alexander the Great across the impenetrable deserts to India. It was victory which made Baji Rao I form resolutions of

planting the Maratha flag beyond the Himalayas. In the same manner it was victory, which encouraged the British East India company to undertake more ambitious plans of territorial acquisitions. Victory, then, if victory indeed it was, ought to have animated the Shah to do something like what other victors of past and present times have done. But the behaviour of the Shah seemed to be something like that of a General disheartened by obtaining a bootless advantage over his enemies at the end of the battle when his own power of availing himself of the advantage was exhausted. It is true that the majority of the fighting men on the Maratha side fell sword in hand but we have the strongest reason to believe that the Shaha's army did not escape so very easily as is generally believed to be the case by some writers(1).

Thus the conquest of the Punjab by Raghoba led chiefly to the third battle of Panipat. It is utterly wrong to say, as some writers do very often, that the Maratha empire found its grave in the Panipat disaster or that the Abdali chief returned home without repenting for his last and ill-fated visit to Hindustan.(2) It was the

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(1) Vide De La Fosse's Indian History p. 195.

(2) Mr. Sardesai says on p. 190 that:—"पानिपताचे वेळींही मराठ्यांनीं पंजाब मोकळा केला असता तर कदाचित तो दुर्धर प्रसंगही ओढवला नसता," (If the Marathas had ceded the Punjab to Ahmed Shah, perhaps the disaster of Panipat might have been avoided). I strongly differ from the learned scholar. There was no earthly reason for the Marathas to anticipate an unfavourable result of the battle, as I have

disaster of Panipat, which incited some of the greatest and most renowned statesmen and generals in the Maratha Empire to perform prodigies of valour in crushing the Mogal power. The Marathas left no stone unturned for retrieving their partially tarnished prestige by the glorious reconquest of Hindustan and the subjugation of Rohilkhand. The terrible vengeance wreaked on Najibkhan was also due to memory of the deeds of that man in the hour of the Maratha danger. It was the disaster at Panipat which urged the great Madhaorao Peshwa to discover fresh means for the extinction of the Mogul Empire in India by sending several expeditions into Hindustan and the Carnatic. It was the disaster at Panipat which gave an opportunity to Raghoba to think of a second expedition in pursuit of Ahmadshah Abdali(1). Under these circumstances it cannot be said that the resources of the Marathas were exhausted by the calamity that befell them at Panipat.

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already observed. The disaster at panipat was, certainly, as unexpected as a bolt from the blue heavens.

(1) This account is given in the "Peshwa's Chronicles", in which a very glowing and graphic description is given regarding the way in which Raghoba behaved towards Abdali. Grant Duff says nothing of this second expedition against the Durani Chief but the well-informeh author of the "Peshwas" Chronicles mentions in detail this expedition of Raghoba. On this point no further light can however be thrown until the "Peshwas" Daftar is accessible to the Public and the several other sources of information are ransacked. The subject is worthy of study and investigation. I have given the account here in order to invite attention and discussion. Mr. H. A. Acworth, of the Bombay Civil Service and wellknown for his studies in Marathi Literature and History, remarks that the Afgan losses were also immense (Vide Maratha Ballads, Introduction, by Ackworth and Shaligram).

The Hon'ble Mount Stuart Elphinstone, who distinguished himself by pursuing a wise and generous policy after the fall of the Maratha Empire in 1818, remarks as follows:—"Ahmadshah Abdali returned home without attempting to profit by the victory and never afterwards took any share in the affairs of India." Why?

We conclude this long narrative by observing that the Maratha Power became even more formidable than it was in 1761 through the exertions of the Great Peshwa Madhaorao I. Since the year 1761 the Victorious Duranis, however, have never been able to cross the threshold of India and disturb her peace. The firm resolve of the Bhao, Vishwasrao, Sindhia and the other Marathas who fell at Panipat, was to win the day or die on the field of battle.

"If killed in battle, thou shalt secure heaven; if victorious thou shalt enjoy the earth." This noble and heroic sentiment guided the Maratha Leaders at Panipat.

In this connection it would be very interesting to read an account of the 'Nazar' presented to the Peshwa Madhaorao I on the 6th February 1763 A. D. by Ahmadshah Abdali through the Afgan Vakeel Gulraj.(1). The articles sent as 'Nazir' by the Ameer Abdali with the

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(1) Vide "the Marathas and the Moguls" by the present writer, pages 130-138 where this subject is discussed in detail. We rejoice to find that in a very recent publication by Professor H. G. Rawlinson our view receives substantial corroboration. The defeat of Panipat was to the Marathas, for the bravery displayed by them, "as honourable as victory."

Afgan Vakeel are not detailed herein. What does this Nazar sent by Abdali in 1763, the year in which the heroic Peshwa Madhao Rao I was planning the subjugation of Hindusthan, signify ? This great Peshwa was to use the weighty words of Grant Duff, "courted by the English and Mohamad Ali on one side and Haidar Ali on the other" long after the battle of Panipat. We will leave it to our readers to consider the data, the evidence supplied by and relied on by eminent authors and then to form their own decision in the light of the facts.

The envoy of Ahmad Shah Abdali was at Poona for a long time, courting the Peshwas' favour, as is evident from the Peshwa's "Diaries" edited by Rao Bahadur Wad, B. A. In 1762 the Sikhs had defeated Abdali's officer Nuruddeen and taken Sirhind and other districts. Ahmad Shah Abdali had to face two powers now, the Marathas, preparing to re-establish their prestige and power and the Sikhas rising into importance. Owing to the feuds raised by the wicked Raghoba, Madhaorao could not pay as much attention to the affairs in Hindustan as he undoubtedly would have done, had a free scope been allowed to his creative genius and organising ability. The Peshwa, therefore, accepted the peace offers of Gulraj, the Afgan envoy. The Sikhs, however, rose against the Afgans, and killed the Afgan Sirdar Zainkhan in a tough battle in 1764. In 1767, Abdali returned to the

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(1) Vide "Ballads of the Marathas" by Mr. H. A. Ackworth, I. C. S. and Mr. Shaligram.

Punjab but the Sikhs inflicted such a humiliating defeat on him that he bade a final farewell to his hopes of obtaining a footing in the Punjab. Had family feuds allowed an opportunity, the Peshwa would surely have made a common cause with the Sikhs and in all probability their united strength might have achieved the conquest of Kandahar.

Messrs. Ackworth and Shaligram allude to important correspondence between the Peshwa and the Ameer Ahmad Shah of Afghanisthan. But details are not available. Now that the Peshwa's Dafter is available to research scholars, it is hoped that some light may be thrown on this point. A Nazar from the Ameer of Afganisthan to the Peshwa and to Raghoba in the year 1762 does not seem to be an ordinary incident. The late Rao Bahadur Parasnis attaches some significance to this Nazar from the Ameer. Of course nothing definitely can be said on this point at this stage in the absence of adequate evidence bearing on the subject. We have elsewhere mentioned how Ahmad Shah Abdali's attempts at founding this power in the Punjab were thoroughly baffled by the rising power of the Sikhs, who were now bent on establishing their influence in the Punjab.

So ended the disastrous scene on the field of Panipat. A temporary gloom was cast over the whole of Maharastra (1). Malhar Rao Holkar, who was always

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(1) Those of our readers who wish to study particularly the period of Indian History ranging between 1761 and 1772, should read Mr. Sardesai's Life of the Peshwa Madhao Rao I. Although I strongly

above suspicion prior to this Panipat calamity, was now the subject of some adverse criticism and even suspicion.

Even the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, who had the highest regard for Holkar, was astounded to hear the wild reports about Malhar Rao Holkar and his connection with the treacherous Najeebkhan Rohilla. The other Sirdars of the Peshwa, with the exception of Vithal Shivadeo Vinchurkar, also began to criticise the attitude and movements of Holkar. We must now see how far there is, or there is not, any ground for all these imputations and aspersions cast from various parties against the character and operations of Holkar during the course of the Panipat war. In order to arrive at a decision on this difficult point it is necessary to take into consideration the contemporary views of the Sirdars and officers who were fortunate enough to return to the South with him and knew his work and movements at that time. The most important testimony to the solution of this point will be, in our opinion, the words of Vithal Shivdeo Vinchurkar, who was with Malhar Rao Holkar (1).

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differ from his view that the battle of Panipat led to the fall of the Maratha Empire. I think Mr. Desai has very skilfully shown how the Marathas re-established their power and influence in all parts of India-Mr. Sardesai even goes to the length of saying:—"माधवराव अल्पायुषी झाला नसतां, तर पाश्चात्य युद्ध पद्धतीचा योग्य अवलंबन करून इंग्रजास त्यानें आळा बसविला असतां, असें निःसंशय वाटूं लागतें". Vide Forrest, p. 180.

(1) Vithal Shivadev Vinchurkar and Malhar Rao Holkar were at Gagroni (now in the Indore State) when the letter was sent.

Vinchurkar's letter dated 15th May 1761 is as follows:—
"स्वामींची पत्रें मल्हारराव होळकर सुभेदार यांस गेलीत. आह्मीं ते एका जागांच आहों. स्वामीस परस्परें कळलें असेल. पत्र न पाठविण्याचे कारण इतकेच दिसोन आले कीं, हे वाचोन कशास आले ? त्यास हें प्रमाणच आहे. मरणाच्या स्वस्तीस कोण्ही चुकले नाहींत. कारण आयुष्यापुढें इलाज नाहीं. जखम लागली तेथें खैर होऊन वांचून यावे हें ईश्वरी सत्ता. 'आयूरक्षति कर्माणि आयुरन्नं प्रयच्छति' एसें आहे. परंतु आह्मी ही आपल्या जिवास खातच आहों. आग्हासही सर्व गोष्टी कळतच आहेत. परंतु मेहेनत गैर मेहनत, सर्व एक ईश्वरी क्षोभानें वायां गेल्या ? सेवेसीं श्रुत होय हे विज्ञापना."

From this letter it appears that Holkar, if at all liable for any mistakes, was not intentionally guilty of any failure in the discharge of his duty in the battle at Panipat. It is true that Malhar Rao Holkar's advice to Naro Shankar to leave Delhi after the Panipat disaster was not a step in the right direction. Naro Shankar and Holkar could have stopped the progress of Ahmad Shah if both of them had firmly continued their stay in Delhi. In fact, Ahmad Shah Abdali marched to Delhi after hearing that Naro Shankar had left the capital (2) with his army. The conduct of Holkar and Naro Shankar produced baneful effects on the Peshwa's mind, which was already confounded by the sad intelligence about the calamity at Panipat. The Peshwa became highly displeased with Malhar Rao Holkar and Naro Shankar.

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(1) Vide Sardesai, Vol. III, pages 208–210

Holkar's Mahals were for some time attached,(1) but released later on. Error of Judgment is one thing and error of intention quite another. Mr. Sardesai finds fault with Holkar in the following terms:— "मल्हारराव होलकर नजीक असून व शिंद्यांकडून मदतीस येण्याविषयी निकडीची बोलावणी येत असतां, होळकर धावून गेला नाहीं; आणि दत्ताजी शिंद्यासारखा शूर मोहरा रणांगणीं पतन पावला.....तसेंच नजीबखानाचा बंदोबस्त होळकरानें होउं दिला नाहीं. तात्पर्य पहिल्या सहा वर्षांत अव्यवस्था होऊन अब्दाली व मराठे यांचा संग्राम निकरावर येण्यास रघुनाथराव व होळकर हे दोघे मुख्यत: कारण झाले".....It seems probable that the cumulative effect of all the conflicting reports that reached the ears of the Peshwa with refard to Malhar Rao Holkar had created a prejudice, which melted away, as we would see later on. When full and exhaustive facts were brought to the Peshwa's notice the great Madhav Rao splendidly appreciated and rewarded Holkar's services. After considering the pros and cons of the case, all that can be said against Malhar Rao Holkar is that he had taken a mistaken view in supporting Nujeeb Khan and in expecting a favourable result from that cunning Rohilla(2). Although there was some hue and

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(1) Madhao Rao I, who succeeded the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, and his wife the saintly Ramabai were particularly kind to Devi Ahilyabai Holkar. The Peshwa Madhao Rao freed Holkar's Mahals from attachment during Ahilyabai's regime. Vide "Life of Devi Ahilyabai Holkar" by the present writer for details about the prompt Justice done to Ahilyabai's claims by the Peshwa Madhao Rao.

(2) Mr. Sardesai himself has admitted that Holkar played his part well in the campaign in spite of the doubtful conduct in saving the faithless Najeebkhan. The coming pages will show that there is

cry against Holkar after the Panipat disaster, yet it would be groundless to say that the Marathas lost at Panipat owing to any failure of duty on the part of Malhar Rao Holkar, who as readily carried out Bhow Sahib's orders as any other Sirdar or Officer of the Peshwa. Malhar Rao was a brave soldier, frank and free. Certainly he had not the slightest idea that Najeeb Khan would prove so treacherous and faithless after taking so many solemn oaths about his attachment to Holkar. Every one must be judged according to the times in which he lives. Indians of the 18th Century were some-what different from Indians of the 20th Century. Violation of a solfemn oath was considered a sin by the Hindus as well as by the Mahomedans. Holkar, a frank-hearted soldier, never dreamt that Najeeb Khan would violate his solemn oaths and affirmations in such a manner and betray him.

We have already mentioned that Malhar Rao Holkar is not liable for any censure for the fatal result of the Panipat expedition. He was an advocate of the Guerrilla warfare, in which he was an adept and of which he had lifelong experience. The following observations of Mr. Sardesai on this subject are interesting:-

"मल्हारराव होळकर गनीमीकाव्यांत कल्पक परंतु विभिन्नमतांच्या अनेक इसमांस हाताखाली वागवून संहतकार्य घडवून आणण्यांत त्यांची लायकी कधींच बाहेर आलेली नाहीं." "मल्हारराव होळकराच्या कुचराई

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no evidence to hold Malhar Rao Holkar responsible for the disastrous result. Even Bhow Sahib speaks in high terms about Holkar, as will be gathered from his letter, dated 16th September 1760, Vide Appendix.

मुळें पानपतचा संग्राम विपरित झाला असें म्हणता येत नाहीं. आरंभीच्या घोटाळ्यास मल्हारराव कारण झाला हें वर दाखविलेंच आहे, परंतु सदाशिवरावांची स्वारी सुरू झाल्यावर त्याची हुकमत यथायोग्य पाळून, मल्हारराव व इतर सरदारांनीं आपापलीं कामें बजावण्यांत शिकस्त केली यांत संशय नाहीं. सदाशिवरावास विरोध करून अगर त्याजवर रुसून होळकर किंवा दुसरा कोणी इसम त्यास सोडून गेला नाहीं किंवा कर्तव्यपराङ्मुख झाला नाहीं; किंवा शेवटीं प्रत्यक्ष मृत्यु डोळ्यासमोर दिसत असतां, एकानेंहीं इतरांस सोडून स्वतःच्या जीव बचावण्याचा प्रयत्न केला नाहीं, हें सर्वांसच भूषणावह आहे. शेवट पर्यंत न डगमगतां शूर पुरुषास शोभणारा क्षात्रधर्म सर्वांनीं मोठ्या धैर्यानें पाळिला, यामुळें मराठ्यांचा इतिहास आज एवढा उज्वल वाटत आहे. मल्हारराव होळकर, दमाजी गायकवाड वगैरे बचावून आले, याजबद्दल त्यांस दोष देण्याचें कारण नाहीं. प्रसंगावधान ठेवून त्यांनीं शक्य तितका बचाव केला हें ठीकच झालें. जनकोजी किंवा सदाशिवराव जिवावर उदार होऊन मरून गेले हे म्हणजे त्यांस मोठे भूषण आहे असेही नाहीं. होळकराप्रमाणें तेही जीव बचावून आले असते तर ग्वाल्हेरीवर पुनः सर्व जमवाजमव करून त्यांनी अल्पावकाशांत मराठ्यांची सत्ता अटकेपर्यंत बसविली असती. मात्र मल्हारराव होळकर दिल्लीस आल्यावर नारोशंकरास मदत करून दोघांनी तेथेंच टांसून राहण्याचें सोडून, ते दक्षिणेकडे त्वरेनें सरकत आले हें त्यांच्या शूर बाण्यास व इभ्रतीस शोभत नाहीं. माधवराव पेशव्यानें त्यांस पुढें या संबंधानें नरम केलें, तेव्हां त्यास पुष्कळच पड खावी लागली"—Sardesai, Vol, III., Pages 222-223,

That Malhar Rao Holkar and Naro Shankar committed a great mistake in leaving Delhi and retreating to the Southward cannot be doubted[1]. Had both of them

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(1) It has been mentioned elsewhere how the eminent historian Mr. V. R. Rajwade has severely criticized Malhar Rao Holkar and Govindpant Bundele for their conduct. Mr. Rajwade's observations are rather too strong and harsh. Mr. Sardesai has, after a very able

remained in the Delhi fort and bravely faced the calamity, surely the exhausted Afghans would have been repulsed without much effort. The great Peshwa Madhao Rao I took both of these Sirdars to task for their imprudent behaviour, when both of them had to bear the taunt quietly.

There is a great deal of difference of opinion between the Maratha and the European writers with regard to the battle of Panipat and its consequences.(1) The present writer has said much about this subject in his previous publication entitled "The Marathas and the Moguls", published in 1914. Recently the well-known historian Mr. G. S. Sardesai has devoted a separate volume for discussion of this important matter (vide the 3rd Volume Marathi Riyasat 1922) and I am heartily glad that the learned writer supports my views. In his "Comprehensive History of India",

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and exhaustive discussion in his "Panipat Prakarna," exonerated both Malhar Rao and Govind pant from the aspersions against their conduct, I agree with Mr. Sardesai on this point. It must, however, be said that the Marathas made a precipitate haste in leaving Delhi so soon after the battle.

(1) For details about the successful expeditions repeatedly sent by the Peshwa Madhav Rao I, after the year 1761, for the subjugation of Hindustan, see "Mahadji Sindhia" by the present writer, pages, 25–33. In the southern part of India the Peshwa Madhav Rao himself led an expedition for punishing the encroachments of Hyderali. In short, the Marathas were victorious in all parts of India during Madhav Rao Peshwa's reign. The Peshwa Madhav Rao's ability, energy and restless acitivity could annihilate the evil consequences of Panipat.

Mr. Henry Beveridge observes as follows on this point:—

".....The dream of a Mahratta Empire had vanished. Strange to say, Ahmed did not profit much by his victory, for the Mahomedan confederacy which he had formed having broken up, he quitted India, and never returned to take any share in its affairs. The only two powers which then seemed capable of wielding the sceptre which had been wrested from the hands of the Mogul, having thus been providentially removed, the work of conquest passed to other hands. The two most powerful nations of Europe, after they had long been contented to play a subordinate part in the contest, resolved at last to become principal, and France and Great Britain started as rival candidates for the establishment of a new Indian Empire". Other European writers of Indian History hold, more or less, the same view.

With all due deference to these learned and eminent writers, I beg to assert that their view regarding the consequences of the battle of Panipat of 1761 is neither correct nor justified by the logic of facts. The Maratha Empire certainly did not find its grave in the battle of Panipat. In this work it is necessary to say something on this point. It is enough to say, as Captain Grant Duff has already well said, that "The plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha Empire than the early demise of this excellent Prince (the Peshwa Madhao Rao I)". In fact the Maratha Empire had become stronger in 1772, eleven years after the battle of

Panipat, during the heroic regime of the Peshwa Madhav Rao I., and from 1772 to 1795 the Marathas were virtually the masters of India(1). It would not also be accurate to allege that the progress or the establishment of the British Empire was, in any way, ensured solely by the disaster of Panipat.(2). The East India Company had

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(1) Vide "Mahadji Sindhia" by the present writer, page 7, and the "Marathi Riyasat," 3rd Volume by Mr, G. S, Sardesai, pages 225-227. Mr. Sardesai concludes this subject in tho following glowing and pathetic terms:- "लहानापासून मोठ्यापर्यंत सर्व सैनिकांनीं बायकामुलांनीं व बाजार बुणग्यांनीं सुद्धां, यजमानाबरोबर अखेर पर्यंत लढुन प्राणही देऊं, असा निश्चय शेकडो वेळा प्रदर्शित केला आणि एवढा प्रचंड संहार धैर्यानें सहन करून, चिकाटी न सोडता पुन: त्यानीं तोच उद्योग अल्पावधींत सिद्धीस नेला यापेक्षां खऱ्या शौर्याचे दुसरे लक्षण काय पाहिजे ? पानपतचा संग्राम मराठ्यांची कीर्ति यावचचंद्रदिवा करौ उज्वल राखील, किती ही राज्यक्रांत्या किंवा धडा मोडी झाल्या, तरी पानपतच्या आठवणीनें मराठ्यांच्या बाहूंस सदैव स्फुरण चढेल, आणि कोणत्याही देशाचें राज्य करण्यास मराठे सर्वथैव लायक आहेत याची खात्री हा एकच प्रसंग निरंतर पटवीत राहील, यांत तिळमात्र संशय नाहीं." After going through all the available material on this subject, the present writer feels strongly inclined to say also. as he had already said in 1914, that the Marathas lost the victory at Panipat by the death of Vishwas Rao and Bhow sahib's descending from his elephant. Vide "Marathas and Mogula."

(2) Major Evans Bell, whose generous interest in the welfare of the Indian States is well known and who was a sincere admirer of His Highness the Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar II, says as follows about the Paniput expdition!--"Even the battle of Panipat was a triumph and a glory for the Marathas. They fought in the cause of "India for the Indians", while the great Mahomedan Princes of Delhi, of Oude and the Deccan stood aside, intriguing and trimming. And though the Marathas were defeated, the victorious Afghans retired and never again interfered in the affairs of India." Mr. Sardesai says. "अठराव्या शतकांत हिंदुस्थान

not the strength to successfully oppose the schemes of the Peshwa Madhav Rao I, who had sent Mahadji Sindhia and Visaji Krishna Biniwale to re-establish the Maratha power and prestige in the Imperial capital. The Peshwa's officers succeeded in undertaking the full control of the Imperial affairs on the 11th of February 1771, on which date the Maratha flag was hoisted on the Fort at Delhi. In short, there is no reason to think that the battle of Panipat led directly to the fall of the Maratha Empire. The eminent historian and indefatiguable research scholar Mr. Rajwade has ably shown that Ahmad Shah Abdallee won the day by mere chance and not by any remarkable military skill or stratagem shown on the battle field of Panipat of 1761.

It is not necessary in this work to go into exhaustive details about the disputed point whether the battle of Panipat was the cause of the fall of the Maratha Empire, though cursorily it may be mentioned that Baji Rao II, Daolatrao Sindhia, Yeshwant Rao Holkar, Sarje Rao Ghatgay and the Bhonsla

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ची स्थिती इतकी खालावली होती कीं, हा देश मागे पुढें पाश्चात्यांच्या कबजांत जाणार, हें बहुतेक ठरल्यासारखेंच होतें; आणि पानपतावर मराठ्यांचा जय झाला असता तरी हा परिणाम टळला असता असें म्हणतां येत नाहीं. "—Vol. III., Panipat Prakarna.

Translation—"The condition of India had become so pitiable by the end of the 18th country that it had become quite a forgone conclusion that this country would, sooner or later, pass into the hands of Eropeans, and even a victory at Panipat (in 1761) would not have obviated that result."

of Nagpore must bear rateably the odium of its dismemberment. That the battle of Panipat was never considered as a cause of the fall of the Maratha Empire is amply proved by the direct evidence of Maratha records as well as by circumstantial evidence already alluded to in this work. On the 23rd of February 1761 Naro Shankar vauntingly writes in the following strain:—"भगवत्कृपेकरून श्रीमंतांचें राज्य कायम आहे. "By the grace of the Almighty the Shreemant's (the Peshwa's) dominions are still unshaken. In my work "The Marathas and the Moghuls," I have fully discussed the point that the Maratha Empire did not find its grave in the battle of Panipat in 1761, I am glad that this view of mine published in 1714, is supported by the historian, Mr, Sardesai, in his Panipat Prakarna, published in 1922. He observes as follows:—

".....पानपतानें मराठ्यांचे राज्यास धक्का बसला ही भावना कोणत्याही तत्कालीन हिंदी लेखांत आढळत नाहीं.....आपण पानपतावर हरलो अशी त्यावेळीं राष्ट्राची भावना झाली नाहीं, उलट स्वीकृत कार्य तडीस नेण्यास नवीन हुरूप त्यांस आला. मराठ्यांचें राज्य कायम आहे, युद्धच आहे, त्यांत प्रसंगी अपजय येणें ही प्राप्य असतें, अशा भावनेचें पुढें सर्व राष्ट्राचें वर्तन राहिलें. खरें झालें तर दत्ताजी शिंदे, सदाशिवराव भाऊ, जनकोजी शिंदे, इब्राहिमखान गारदी वगैरे पुरुषांचें मृत्यु हेच राष्ट्रीय दृष्या भावी उदयाचीं अंतर्भेदी आशा बंधनें होत. अशा स्फूर्तिदायक प्रसंगाची योग्य जोपासना सर्व राष्ट्रें करीत असतात." I am sorry to find that in his lectures at Patna[1], Mr. Sardesai says as follows about the consequences of the battle of Panipat:—

"But Panipat decided the fate of India. The Marathas and the Mahomedans weakened each other in that deadly conflict facilitating the aims of the British

(1) Vide "Main Currents of Maratha History", Page 129.

for Indian supremacy. " We differ from the learned historian Mr. Sardesai for reasons briefly given elsewhere in this work. We have already mentioned that the Maratha power had become stronger and more formidable eleven years after the battle of Panipat. Under the circumstances and taking a comprehensive view of the pros and cons of this subject it would be utterly inaccurate to say that Panipat led, directly or indirectly, to the fall of the Maratha Empire.(1)

By an important letter first published by Mr. Bhave in the Kesari of Poona,(2) our readers will be greatly benefitted in their deliberations on the following points. (a) That Bhow Sahib was pleased with Malhar Rao Holkar; (b) That the Bhow was right in entrenching his camp at Panipat; (c) That the Peshwa was coming to the help of the Campaign with sufficient forces, in spite of his ill-health; (d) That Bhow had not only the sanction but

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(1) Vide "Mahadji Sindhia" by the present writer, pages 24-25. Even Warren Hastings had admitted his inability to check the Maratha power in 1771-72. From 1772 to 1794 the Marathas were virtually the masters of Hindustan. In reviewing my work entitled. "Mahadji Sindhia" in tha "Times of India," the Hon'ble Mr. C. A. Kincaid, the Historian of the Marathas, observed as follows:—

....."But, as Mr. Burway rightly points out, the chief credit of his successes belongs to the capable Peshwa, who equipped and reorganised the Maratha armies. Guided by the Peshwa's wisdom, Sindhia wiped out in Rohilla blood the great disaster of Panipat and conquered all Rohilkhand with hardly the loss of a man. So imposing were the Maratha victories that the Emperor Shah Alam, until that time a fugitive with the English, decided to leave their protection and seek that of the Marathas. The Peshwa was now the Master of Hindustan."—Vide 'The Times of India, 21st February 1923,

(2) Vide Appendix, where this letter is given.

even definite orders to break off the peace negotiations, which the Peshwa thought to be humiliating; (e) that the Peshwa was not idle and that he was not passing his days in pleasures; and (f) that Bhow was firmly advised to fight till Abda Ali was vanquished. Thus it will be seen that neither the Bhow Sahib nor the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao deserve the improper criticism to which they are subjected occasionally by some historians without weighing the reasons on both the sides. Panipat, therfore, reflects no discredit or dishonour on the Maratha nation. We conclude this chapter by quoting the words of Professor R. G. Rawlinson in this connection: "A defeat is, under some circumstances, as honourable as a victory, and never, in all their annals, did the Maratha armies cover themselves with greater glory, than when the flower of the chivalry of the Deccan perished on the stricken field of Panipat, fighting against the enemies of their creed and country."(1)

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(1) Ahmadshah Abdalli displayed no strategic skill throughout the operations.

If we keep to the old military Maxim that it is attack which best shows a leader's ability, then the palm must go to the leaders of the Panipat expedition, for it was they who attacked throughout the whole war, and showed great strategic skill. Their defeat was not the result of their enemy's strategy but the outcome of exhaustion due to the extreme prolongation of the War and the treachery of Najeeb Khan Rohilla in cutting off the Maratha supplies.

Vide Panipat by H. G. Rawlinson, Introduction P. 13.

CHAPTER XV.

At Poona 1762.

The old warrior, the hero of this narrative, retraced his steps to Gwalior with a heavy-heart accompanied by Parwatibai, Nana Purandare and many others, who had escaped from the cruel hands of the ruthless Afghans. The Maratha fugitives received great kindness and generosity from the Jat Chief, Surajmal, who spared no pains to afford every help to the helpless persons, who were on their way to the Deccan.

Malhar Rao Holkar remained for a month at Gwalior, where he added greatly to his broken forces. He engaged a large number of recruits, and thus prepared himself to face the refractory conduct of those, who had become estranged on hearing of the Maratha disaster at Panipat. While passing through the Jat territory, Holkar had a narrow escape from danger through the skill and courageous conduct of Govind Rao Bolia, the ancestor of the present head of the Bolia family, Sirdar Narayan Rao Bolia.

Even the Rajput Prince Madhosingh of Jeypore, who obtained the Gaddee through the Maratha aid, tried to overthrow the Maratha power. An engagement followed in which he was vanquished by Holkar, to whom Madhosingh paid 25 lakhs and purchased peace. In the "Panipat Prakarna" by Mr. G. S. Sardesai, pages

228-232 the reader will find interesting details about Nana Sahib and Malhar Rao Holkar(1)

The news of the disaster at Panipat was received by the Peshwa while encamped on the Godawari. It broke the heart of the sagacious and kind-hearted Balaji Baji Rao, who was unable to bear the magnitude of the grief. The Peshwa returned to Poona in a dilapidated condition of body and mind, and died at his favourite palace on the Parwati Hill in June 1761. Malhar Rao Holkar severely felt the untimely death of this Peshwa, who had always the greatest regard for Holkar, and whom he saved several times from many a situation of difficulty. He thought it quite essential to pay his respectful condolences to his master's family as well as to wait upon the new Peshwa Madhavrao Ballal on whom the Chatrapati of Satara had conferred the robes of Peshwaship. The heroic Peshwa Madhav Rao I was only 17 years old when the onerous duties of the great office were entrusted to him. This Peshwa's regime is probably the brightest page in the Maratha History, after Shivaji and Baji Rao I.

With this object in view, Malhar Rao proceeded, after quelling the revolt of the Mewatees of Mandesaur, to Jejuri, the sacred place of pilgrimage of the Holkar family,

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(1) Malhar Rao Holkar, on his march towards Hindoostan, encamped within a short distance of the imposter, and soon discovered the imposition, but was afraid to punish him, lest the widow of the Bhow should imagine that he might have been her husband. Holkar seized him, and sent him to Poona.



THE PESHWA MADHAV RAO I.

where he paid his obeisance to Shri Martand and then went to Poona. The interview between the young Peshwa and his old Sirdar was a scene of pathetic grandeur, as several old memories were waked up and Malhar Rao was actually moved to tears when he tried to pay his condolences to the son of the late Peshwa. Holkar halted at Poona for some time, and at no distant date had the opportunity of accompanying his young master on an expedition against the Nizam of Hyderabad, who had raised his arms against the Marathas in their hour of peril and had even marched with an army against the Peshwa's uncle. Raghoba Dada, who had undertaken the administration on account of the youth of the Peshwa Madhavrao Bullal, immediately started on an expedition, which was honoured by the young Peshwa with his presence. This expedition is worthy of a careful attention, in as much as it served to remove the latent misunderstanding smouldering in the mind of the heroic Peshwa with regard to the attitude of Holkar in the battle of Panipat. The Marathas invaded the territories of the Nizam and the Bhonsla and went as far as Hyderabad. Taking advantage of their absence from Poona, the Nizam invaded the city of Poona and tried to take it, but failed. The energetic Peshwa used his best efforts in recalling those of the Maratha Sirdars and officers, who had gone over to the side of the Nizam. The Bhonsla was also promised a large cession of territory, yielding about 32 lakhs and thus he was separated from the Nizam's party. Naturally the Nizam was considerably weakened in the strength of his army by the wise precautions and measures adopted by the Peshwa Madhava Rao. Raghoba Dada had a timely news about the movements of the Nizam, who was

encamped at Rakshas Bhuwan on the Godawari, where the Maratha army under Raghoba Dada, Malhar Rao Holkar, Damaji Gaikawad and others advanced with forced marches and overtook the Nizam. A tough and fierce battle took place on the 10th of August 1763. Raghoba Dada was on the point of being defeated, when the young Peshwa's heroic attack on the Moguls turned the tide of success and secured a glorious victory for the Marathas. This was the first time when the new Peshwa tasted the danger and the hardships of a battle-field, and it was an auspicious beginning attended with a memorable success.

The Maratha soldiers had begun to fly from the field when Raghoba Dada's elephant was surrounded by the Mogul army and was led towards the Mogul camp. No sooner did the young Peshwa see the Maratha soldiers leaving the battla-field, than he galloped with his 5,000 horse and led such a spirited and terrible charge(1)

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(1) Malhar Rao Holkar was galloping towardas the place whence the Peshwa Madhav Rao was observing the fight. Malhar Rao said "रावसाहेब चलावें आपण पुण्याचें राज्य करू," whereupon the enthusiastic Peshwa retorted in a spirited manner. For details see "Peshwa's Bakhar, pages 85-87.

To his brave but imprudent uncle Raghunath Rao, the young Peshwa addressed the following pathetic words of wisdom after the victory at Rakshsh Bhuwan:—

"काका, मोंगललोकांनीं पानपतास आपला जो नाश केला, व ज्यामुळें वडील नानासाहेब यांचा अकाली देहांत झाला त्याचें स्मरण तुम्हास नाहीं काय? त्याबद्दल मोंगलांचा सूड घेण्याचा यत्न सोडून देऊन आपण

against the Mogul forces which ove-whelmed Raghoba's party, that it dispersed and the young warrior was able to effect the rescue of his uncle Raghoba. While the Peshwa was leading the charge, Malhar Rao met his young and heroic master, who was surprised to see Holkar returning from the battle along with other fugitives. Malhar Rao was much astounded at the spirited and hazardous conduct displayed by the young Peshwa, who had not completed even his 17th year, and he enthusiastically accompanied his master in the attack on the Moghuls. The Moguls were put to flight. The Nizam's elephant was surrounded by the Peshwa's troopers, who were ordered to cut the ropes of the Howdah, in which the Nizam was sitting. The Nizam showed signs of surrender by waiving his white handkerchief ! The Peshwa Madhavrao thus won the victory on the field of Rakshas Bhuwan, where the Nizam's vazeer, Vithal Sunder, the ring-leader of the intrigues against the Peshwa, was killed by a cannon ball.(1)

आपसांत तंडे करण्यांत निमग्न झालो आहो, याचा विचार करा. आपणांस वडील स्वर्गी काय म्हणतील इकडे लक्ष द्या. अजून तरी हा गृह-कलह सोडून देऊन प्रथम आपले राज्यास जेणेकरून बळकटी येईल ती गोष्ट करा; आणि मोंगलांच्या पारिपत्याचा विचार करा. "

"Peshwa's Bakhar" page, 87.

(1) This famous victory established the fame of Madhav Rao I as a spirited and brave leader on the battle-field. Mr. Sardesai thus refers to this battle of Raksas Bhuwan (also called Tandulja):—

"भोसले वगैरे सरदारांस होळकराचे विद्यमानें अलग करून पेशव्यानें लढाई केली. बाजीराव हरी, सखाराम हरि, महिपतराव चिटणीस यानी

The victory at Rakshas Bhuwan was greatly instrumental in establishing the reputation of the new Peshwa's enthusiastic and undaunted regime. At the same time Malhar Rao Holkar could get an opportunity to show his prowess to his young master who had resolved on retrieving the tarnished prestige of Maharastra in Hindustan after the disaster of Panipat in 1761 and on making the Maratha power so strong as to preclude the possibility of any danger from the ruthless Afghans, by undertaking to send several expeditions[1] to the northern as

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शिपाईगिरी बहुत केली. त्यांस जखमा लागल्या, त्यावरून वाढविलें. बहुतेक लढणें पेशव्यांचे हुजरातीनें केलें. आबा पुरंदरे, माधवराव पानसे, विठ्ठल शिवदेव विंचूरकर, नारोशंकर, बाबूजी नाईक वगैरे ब्राह्मण सरदार तसेंच मल्हारराव होळकर, दामाजी व महादजी गाइकवाड, महादजी शितोळे वगैरे अनेक मराठे सरदार, यांनीं एक जुटीनें चांगलें काम केलें. विठ्ठल सुंदराचें शीर कापून आणिलें भाल्यावर घेऊन मिरविण्यांस आलें. सर्वत्र आनंदी आनंद झाला. अशा रीतीनें निजामाचा सूड घेतल्याबद्दल महाराष्ट्रास केवढी धन्यता वाटली असेल आणि तरूण पेशव्याच्या कर्तृत्वाची केवढी साक्ष त्यावेळीं लोकांस पटली असेल याची कल्पनाच केली पाहिजे "—Peshwa Madhav Rao I, p. 58-59. Having refered to Malhar Rao Holkar's services in this way, Mr. Sardesai says that the Peshwa Madhav Rao had not a high opinion about Holkar. We have shown elsewhere that the Peshwa was highly pleased with Malhar Rao Holkar and conferred splendid rewards on him.

(1) The career of this Peshwa is worthy of a serious study. Vide "Mahadji Sindhia" by the Honourable Mr. Vishnu Raghunath Natu and the "Marathas and Moguls" by the present author.

Vide the "Diaries" of the Peshwa Madhao Rao I, page 144, where the following occurs:—"The Pargana of Khargone was conferred as a military Saramjam on Malhar Rao Holkar, 1762-1763.

well as to the Southern Provinces of India. The treaty, following the Victory at Rakshas Bhuwan and all the political transactions therewith connected were done through Mahmud Murad Khan, the Nizam's Karbhari at Aurangabad.

It was on the field of Rakshas Bhuwan that the Peshwa Madhao Rao had the occasion to know Malhar(1) Rao and his prowess and services to the State generally. It was on this battle-field that the great Peshwa.(2)

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(1) The following military Saranjam was conferred on Malhar Rao Holkar; Pergana Baver in Prant Malwa, Pergana Sangamer, Sirkar Bijigad, Pergana Vaijapur, Pergana Galna in Prant Khandesh and the villages of Pande in Dindori and Koregaum in Tarf Pabal."

Mahumed Murad Khan was a shrewd officer and was a partisan of Ragoba Dada, the Peshwa's uncle. He was of great service to the Marathas on the battle-field of Rakshas Bhuwan. In 1764 the Nizam confiscated Muradkhan's Jagheer and in 1765. Murad Khan was put to death by the Nizam owing to charges of treason! Vide Madhav Rao I. by Sardesai, P. 306-307

(2) The Peshwa Madhav Rao I greatly favoured the cause of Malharji Holkar henceforward, as a perusal of the Peshwa's Diaries would show, 1764-1765 "मल्हारजी बिन खंडोजी होळकर यांणीं हुजुर येऊन विनंती केली कीं, आपण राज्यांतिल एकनिष्ठ सेवक स्वामि सेवा एक निष्ठेने केली; त्यास कृपाळू होऊन परगणे अंबाड, सरकार जालना व मौजे कोरेगांव, तर्फ पाबळ, प्रांत जुन्नर नूतन इनाम करून देऊन चालविलें पाहिजे म्हणोन; त्यावरून मनास आणून, त्यांजवर कृपाळू होऊन सदरहू प्रमाणें इनाम नूतन पुत्रपौत्रादि वंश परंपरेने करार करून देऊन भोगवटिस सनदा:—पान १४८

The Pergana of Ambad in Sirkar Jalnapur and Koregaum in Tarf Pabal were granted in Inam to Malharji bin Kandhoji Holkar for his loyal service, Page 148.

Madhav Rao I. gave a vivid proof of his undaunted bravery and undoubted capability to bear the burden of this exalted office with conspicuous honour and success. Maharastra witnessed on this battle-field the begining of his victorious career, which during the coming nine years made the Maratha power *stronger* and *more formidable* than it was in 1761, the year of the battle of Panipat. On the 25th of September, 1763 a Treaty was concluded at Paithan, the Nizam agreeing to cede a territory yielding eighty-two lakhs Rs. per annum, together with the fort of Naldurg(1). For thirtytwo years, the Nizam did not raise his head against the Poona Durbar and regularly carried out the terms of this Treaty of Paithan.

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(1) Holkar's Dewan Gangadhar Yeshwant Chandrachud had also some hand in the negotiations that were carried on with the Nizam about the terms of this Treaty. Chandrachud was a shrewd person, well-known for his ability. The Peshwa formed a poor opinion about Chandrachud, as the latter seemed inclined to favour the cause of the Nizam. Chandrachud's greed paved the way of his downfall.:—

"पेशव्याचे तर्फेनें होळकराचा दिवाण गंगाधर यशवंत चंद्रचूड बाटा घाटींत असूस, तो थोडे बहुत मोंगलांचें हित पाहत होता. कारस्थानें लढविण्यांत साडे तीन शहाण्याहून तो कांहीं कमी नवता. म्हणून एव्हां पासूनच तो माधवरावाचे मनांतून उतरला."

Madhav Rao I. p. 60.

CHAPTER XVI.

Hyder Ali Invaded.

In 1764 the Peshwa Madhao Rao started from Poona on an auspicious day on an expediton against Hyderalli of Mysore.(1) Malhar Rao Holkar received orders from the Peshwa to come to Poona with a force fifteen thousand strong to join the expedition at an early date. A very awkward incident took place at Poona and but for Malhar Rao's timely intercession and well-suited advice, this incident might have led to serious consequences. The horsemen of Sardar Vithal Sivadeo Vinchurkar were exercising their horses on the maidan (plains) in the vicinity of Poona. The Peshwa's troops happened to pass by and some of them remained there to see the horse-exercises, some altercation followed, leading to hot words between the Peshwa's troopers and Vinchurkar's sowars. The matter reached the ears of the Peshwa, who was keen about the observance of discipline and a point of honour. The Peshwa ordered that Vinchurkar should be placed in custody and his sowars punished. On being apprised of this affair, Malhar Rao at once proceeded to the Peshwa's Palace and humbly requested that Sardar Vinchurkar, who was a loyal and distinguished military leader

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(1) Hyderali also did his best to take advantage of the disaster of Panipat by invading and harassing Karnatic and the adjoining territory of the Peshwa. Of course the spirited young Peshwa could not brook this defiant attitude of Hyderali. For details about this matter see Khare's publications which set forth the enthusiastic actions of the Peshwa and his patriotic sentiments.

should not be treated in this way for a mere quarrel between the Peshwa's and the Sardar's troopers. Holkar further explained that Vinchurkar had done great services to the state and on the present occasion, no fault or misconduct was committed by the Sardar. The Peshwa reconsidered the matter and accepting Holkar's arguments, issued orders that Vinchurkar be called to the Palace to explain the whole situation. Vinchurkar, who was in high wrath and determined to die sword in hand rather than suffer the indignity of being placed in custody, was brought by Malhar Rao to the Peshwa's presence and the whole matter, which had threatened to assume a serious aspect, was amicably settled by Vinchurkar's expression of regret for what his troopers had done. Holkar tided over an ugly danger, which was likely to prove as an inauspicious omen[1] on the eve of the Peshwa's starting on the expedition against Hyder Ali.

The Peshwa Madhao Rao, accompanied by Holkar, Vinchurkar, Patwardhan and other Sirdars, proceeded to the Karnatic to chastise Hyder for his depredations and Zulum. Hyder was encamped in dense forests in the vicinity of Anawani. Hyder Ali had 20,000 regularly trained force 40,000 foot, a large cavalry and an effective artillery. Hyder's artillery did much havoc in the ranks of the

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(1) When Vinchurkar's resolution to die sword in hand rather than suffer the indignity was known to his forces they also became infuriated and an appeal to arms was almost imminent. Happily Malhar Rao Holkar's intercession poured oil on troubled waters and thereby encouraged Vinchurkar to show his prowess on the battle-field against Hyder Ali.

Maratha army. Holkar and Vinchurkar led a terrible charge against Hyder and succeeded in stopping the enemy's guns by cutting down the gunners on the spot. The Maratha horse rendered excellent service in repulsing the enemy's forces, which were eventually vanquished and put to flight. Hyderali was[1] compelled to sue for peace and he accepted humiliating terms dictated by the Marathas. This victory struck terror into the heart of Hyder, who "courted", to use Grant Duff's words, "the young Peshwa's favour" for rescue from the difficult situation.

After this victory, the Peshwa left for Poona in company with Malhar Rao Holkar and other Sirdars. The trend of events in Hindusthan necessitated Holkar's presence on the scene and consequently the Peshwa ordered Malhar Rao Holkar to leave Poona. Holkar arrived in Malwa and proceeded to take part in the affairs of Hindustan where Holkar's protege, the treacherous Rohilla Nujeeb Khan, had raised many a trouble by endeavouring to shake the power of the Marathas and attempting to wreak vengeance on those who had helped the Marathas[2] in their hour of peril in 1761. Hence it was that Holkar was sent by the Peshwa to Hindusthan without delay, be-

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(1) The Peshwa Madhav Rao's noble heart may be judged from the fact that he asked his uncle Raghoba to dictate the terms.

(2) See Strachey's Rohilla war for details about the retaliation which the Marathas returned for all the mischief done by the Rohilla Najeebkhan. Sindhia was the chief person to inflict a condign punishment on the Rohilla chief. See also "The Marathas and the Moghals" by the present author. Malhar Rao Holkar did not live to see the disgrace of Najeebkhan Rohilla.

cause Holkar had close acquaintance with the affairs of Northern India. The Peshwa Madhao Rao's incessant exertions to wipe away the sad memories of Panipat are too well known to require any detailed account in this work[1]. Suffice it to say that in the North as well as in the South of India, Madhav Rao achieved glorious successes and made the Maratha power stronger than it was in 1761. Malhar Rao had the opportunity of showing his valour against Hyder Ali only during one of the four expeditions of the Peshwa Madhav Rao. The fifth and the last expedition against Hyder was entrusted to Trimbak Rao Pethe (ordinarily known as Mama), as the Peshwa was seriously ill and unable to go in person.

During the first expedition in 1762, the Peshwa realized the tributes from the territory lying between Dharwar and the Tungabhadra and returned to Poona. The second expedition in 1764 (January 1764 to June 1765) led to important territorial acquisition. Malhar Rao Holkar was with the Peshwa in this expedition. On 30th of March 1765 a treaty was concluded by Raghoba Dada and had to be ratified by the Peshwa to please his greedy and wicked uncle. This treaty, known as the tready of Anantpur, brought the hostilities to an end, Hyder Ali being vanquished in more than one tough actions and compelled to sue for peace.

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(1) Vide "Mahadji Sindhia" by the present writer. The Peshwa sent Sindhia and Holkar repeatedly into Hindusthan with large forces till his aim was attained and the Bhagwa Zenda was hoisted on the Fort of Delhi in 1771.

As Malhar Rao had not been in the other three expeditions against Hyder, we need not give details about them in this work. We conclude this by giving an extract, which will show how the power of Hyder was annihilated by this Peshwa and his generals:—

" परंतु हैदर ही जेरीस आलाच होता. बहुतेक राज्य गेलें. बंगलोर, श्रीरंगपट्टण व बेदणूर एवढींच ठिकाणें राहिलीं. तीही हातची जाणार त्रिंबकराव मामा त्याच्यावर अतिशय चिडून गेला होता. बेदनूरचा फडशा उडविण्याचा त्याचा निश्चय झाला होता. सर्व तयारी करून स्वारी करणार इतक्यांत पुण्यास पेशव्याची प्रकृति विशेष बिघडल्यानें मामास सलूखा विषयीं निकडीचीं पत्रें गेलीं. 'नंदीगड, चिक्कबाळापूर देखील घेऊन पन्नास लक्ष रुपयांची निशा करून घेणें. छावणीस न राहाणें', असें पेशव्याचें लिहून आलें. अशा रीतिनें उभयपक्षीं सलूखाची निकड उत्पन्न होऊन तह ठरला. या तहानें शिवाजीच्या मरण समयीं कर्नाटकांत जितकें म्हणून स्वराज्य होतें तितकें, म्हणजे मुख्यतः शहाजीचे जहागिरीचा मुलुख शिरें, होसकोटे, योरलें बाळापूर वगैरे मराठ्यांकडे कायम झाले. वीस लक्षांचा गुर्मकोंडा मराठ्यांकडे आलाच होता. येणें प्रमाणें त्रिंबकरावमामानें दोन वर्षें आपली शिकस्त करून पेशवा माधवरावाचे संकल्प पूर्ण करून मरण समयीं त्याचें मन निश्चित केलें.[1]

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(1) Mr. Sardesai's remarks about the want of national spirit among the Marathas deserve to be remembered. Hyder would have been vanquished long ago but for the greedy and treacherous conduct of several persons like Raghoba Dada and others. "या वेळीं सुद्धां माधवराव पेशव्या सारखा राष्ट्रासाठीं झगडणाऱ्या पुरुषाच्या आमदनींत ही अनेक मराठे लोक शत्रू पक्षास सामील होते; आणि शत्रू कडून वेतनें व बक्षिसें घेऊन स्वराष्ट्र घात करीत होते."—Madhao Rao I by Sardesai pages 91-92.



CHAPTER XVII.

Holkar in Hindustan 1764-65.

It has been already mentioned that the Jat Chief, Rajah Surajmall, was very friendly to the Marathas. Najib Khan Rohilla, the inveterate enemy of the Maratha power and the most unscrupulous intriguer, picked up several feuds with the Jat chief, the matter culminatting in a battle, in which the Jat chief was overpowered and his head cut off by Najeeb Khan. Jawahirsingh and Nawab Singh, grandsons of the Jat chief Surajmal, solicited help from Holkar for carrying on hostilities against Najeeb Khan. Holkar went to the succour of the grandsons of Surajmal and rendered some help to them, but the Jat army was a victim to defection caused by Najeebkhan Rohilla's gold, and success was, consequently, but a vain hope under such circumstances. Holkar, however, brought about a reconciliation between the Jats and Najeebkhan and this trouble somehow ended at last, the Jats still smarting under the terms imposed on them.

Malhar Rao had to interfere, at no distant date, in the affairs of Nawab Surajudowlah, who had broken with the English.(1) The English invaded his territory and put him to a great deal of trouble. The Nawab sought Holkar's

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(1) Visoba Lambhate was the Karbhari at this time. Atre, in his Life of Subhedar Malhar Rao Holkar, gives a detailed account about the victory of Gangadharpant, Holkar's military Commander, over the English army. The subseqenent defeat of the Holkar's army is ascribed to the discontented soldiery whose pay was not regularly paid and who were thereby disheartened. This battle took place in

help which was readily given. Holkar marched with his army for the Nawab's help and arrived at Anupsar. Holkar's officer Gangadhar Yeshwant engaged the English in a battle and obtained a temporary victory. But the English army under Colonel Carnac succeeded in a night attack on the Holkar's forces, which were put to flight. Holkar retreated to Kalpi with his troops, aud crossed the Jamna much harassed by the English army.

Before shuffling off this mortal coil, Malhar Rao Holkar had one more serious affair to deal with. The Maratha forces were already engaged in establishing Maratha power and prestige in Hindustan after their internal dissensions were settled through the tact and foresight of the great Peshwa Madhav Rao. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the Emperor and Sujauddwlah, who were sufficiently menaced by the attitude assumed by the English under the guidance of Clive,[1] approached the Marathas

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1765. Vide Atre's Life, pages 189—190. Recently the Bharat-itihas sansodhak Mandal, of Poona, has published an article on this subject written by Mr. Krishnaji Wasudeo Purandare. Vol. IX. No. II. Vide Appendix.

(1) Clive landed at Calcutta on 3rd May 1765. Before his arrival in Bengal, Major Hector Munro had defeated the combined armies of Meer Kassim, Sujaddulah and the Emperor at Buxar on the 22nd October 1764 and taken the province extending from Benares to Allahabad. The three Mohomedan powers were struck with menace at this rise of the English influence and power. Sujaddulah and the emperor opened negotiations with the Marathas through Malhar Rao Holkar. Majors Fletcher and Stewart took the forts of Chunargarh and Allahabad (11th of February 1764.) Thus the English became masters of the

for help and solicited Sindhia and Holkar to come to the aid of the Moghuls at this critical time. Malhar Rao Holkar proceeded to Anupsar for the adjustment of the affairs in the Doab. Najeebkhan Rohilla was busy in securing Holkar's good graces. Thus the Moghuls were concerting measures to fight the English. At last the Mahomedan forces, backed by the Marathas, came face to face with the English army commanded by General Carnac on the plains of Korah on the 3rd of May 1765. The English artillery committed great havoc in the ranks of the combined forces of the Marathas and the Moguls[1]. Victory graced the English arms and Malhar Rao Holkar saw on the plain of Korah for the first time, the efficacy of a well-trained and well equipped English army. Malhar Rao Holkar retreated to Gwalior whence he proceeded to Kalpi by crossing the Jumna. Major Fletcher attacked Holkar at Kalpi and compelled him to leave it. The English army looted the camps of Gazi-uddeen and Sujaduddowlah. Malhar Rao felt keenly the reverse he met on the plains of Kora at the hands of the English under General Carnac. 'तोफखान्याचा असा प्रभाव मल्हारराबानें पूर्वी कधीं अनुभविला नव्हता.' "Holkar had never witnessed before such marvellous efficacy of artillery, as he did on

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territory extending from Calcutta to Allahabad. Without the aid of the Marathas, the Moghuls were unable to cope with the English at this time.

(1) The Vazer of Oudh threw himself on the generosity of the English. It was a strange sight for the people of India to behold. Their emperor, and his powerful subject, were alike supplicants for assistance for consideration, at the hands of those who, not ten years before, were no more than humble merchants, and had been ignominiously expelled from Bengal"—Meadows Taylor's History, p. 462.

the plains of Kora. The intelligence of this defeat reached the Peshwa, who felt its effect more keenly than Holkar, as will be evident from the strenuous preparatious which he ordered for making the Maratha army more efficient. A perusal of Mr. Sardesai's "Life of the Peshwa Madhao Rao I " will repay perusal[1] and fully point out the gigantic energy and endeavours of this Peshwa, whom even English historians like Grant Duff have praised in the highest terms. Malhar Rao Holkar was, however, in no way disheartened by this reverse, though he was much dejected to find that the Maratha artillery was so inferior to that of the English. Holkar thougt of fighting again with the English. 'होळकराचे व इंग्रजांचें युद्ध यमुनापार झालें. इंग्रजापाशी तोफांचा मारा फार, तेव्हां निघालें. काल्पीस आले. इंग्रजानें गाजीउद्दिनखान व सुजायाचें लष्कर लुटलें. मल्हारबा फार खट्टे आहेत. या उपरी मागती झूंजू म्हणतात.' The history of this period is very interesting and the diplomatic tact and skill of Clive deserve to be noticed.

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(1) Vide pages. 177—180 " माधवरावानेंही प्रसंगानुसार इंग्रजांवर आपली दहशत बसविण्यास कमी केलें नाही. मराठा मंडळ फोडण्याचा इंग्रजांचा हा पहिला प्रयत्न होय. याच वेळीं व या नंतर नागपुरकर भोसले व रघुनाथराव दादा यांस मराठा मंडळांतून फोडण्याचे प्रयत्न इंग्रजानीं अतिशय केले पण ते या वेळीं तरी सफळ झाले नाहींत."—Sardesai.

Warren Hastings was the first to admit that the English were unable to resist the power of the Marathas under the guidance of this Peshwa. Vide "the Persian Calenders."

The English gave up the pursuit and retired from the banks of the Jumna, which they were unable to cross owing to deep water in the river. While Malhar Rao was advancing from Kalpi, he received intelligence on his way that the Rajput Princes of Gohud, Datia and Orcha had made a common cause and had invited Himmat Bahadur Gosawee from Delhi with the object of wresting the Gwalior and Jhansi Districts from the Marathas. Malhar Rao moved in the direction of Orcha. The enemy were misled in following Holkar, who whirled back and besieged Jhansi. The seige of Jhansi lasted for about three months. Holkar ordered his famous guns named Martand, Bhawani, Sulami, and Zaladal from his District of Rampura and vigorously carried on the operations. Himmat Bahadur, at last, thought discretion to be the better part of valour and left Jhansi, on the fort of which Malhar Rao hoisted the Peshwa's flag. Holkar proceeded to Datia, which was taken after two days' feeble resistance and the unruly prince deposed. The former Rajah was restored to the Musnud at Datia as the Peshwa's feudatory on his paying a Nazrana of 15 lakhs of Rs. through Malhar Rao Holkar.

The other chiefs were wise enough to learn a lesson from the fate, which awaited Jhansi and Datia. They came to terms with Holkar by agreeing to pay

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(1) In this connection there is an anecdote about the miraculous way in which Holkar could find a ford for his army for safe passage through the river Jamna. Malhar Rao is said to have offered worship to the river and to have prayed to Shree Martand solemnly before putting

annual tributes and thus the storm was, at last, pacified. Even in his oldage the Subhedar Malhar Rao had no opportunity to take rest. No sooner was the trouble with the Bundelkhand Chiefs over than he had to face another siege, a protracted operation, which involved much hardship to the Maratha army. In the coming pages this siege, the last military achievement of Malhar Rao Holkar, will be described. Holkar had received pressing orders from the Peshwa to expedite the siege operations(1).

We have already made some mention of the untiring energy and enthusiasm with which the Peshwa Madhav Rao commenced his career, the aim of which was to establish Maratha prestige and power in all parts of India by repeatedly sending out expeditions. Malhar Rao had duly reported to the Pashwa the troubles that

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his elephant into the waters of the Jamna, which he and his forces found only as deep as to reach their waists. The English army could not cross the Jamna and was therefore unable to resume the pursuit of the Maratha army.

(1) During the career of the Peshwa Madhav Rao, he worked incessantly for the expansion of the Maratha power. He knew no rest of body and mind and he did not allow his Sardars Sindhia, Holkar and others to take rest. He not only sent expeditions in all parts of India, but he resolutely determined to improve the Maratha Navy. Factories were founded at Poona, Nasik, Otur and Bagalkote for manufacturing large cannons and cannon balls, arrows, and gun powder. He stopped the purchase of guns from the English in Bombay. The Peshwa's greatest achievement was the bringing of the Emperor from the English influence to the shelter of the Maratha power in spite of the strenuous endeavours and diplomatic acts of the English. Hence it was that the English were over—awed by the rising power of the Marathas in 1765. "The growing power of the Marathas is a subject much to be lamented."—Forrest's Selections, page 141.

arose in Hindusthan and the manner in which they were suppressed. Holkar was now old and it was necessary to strengthen his position by sending reinforcements as well as able officers to share the difficulties and dangers of the responsibility which the Marathas had taken on their shoulders as the virtual rulers of India. The Peshwa, therefore, explained the pros and cons of the situation to Raghoba Dada[1] and requested him to lead an expedition into Hindusthan. Raghoba was ready to undertake it just as he had been in 1756.

Raghoba Dada started from Poona, accompanied by Vithal Shivdeo Vinchurkar and Mahadji Sindhia, whom the Peshwa Madhao Rao had recognized as the legitimate successor to the Jagheers of the Sindhia family in spite of the opposition of his uncle Raghoba. This independent Judgment of the Peshwa in recognition of

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(1) Raghoba was more weak than wicked, and when his vanity was appealed to, he was always ready to undertake any arduous task. The Peshwa always behaved with humility towards Raghoba and always raised his spirits by appealing to his vanity. Even when a matter was successfully decided by the Peshwa himself, he often tried to give the credit for it to Raghoba. In matters of disagreement, the Peshwa, however, used his independent judgment.

"For the honour of the Maratha nation, they did not affect to conceal their horror at Ragonath Rao's flagitious conduct. The greatest detestation pervaded every class of people against the murderer of their sovereign; and although they submitted at the moment, their feelings were neither mitigated nor conquered. Ragonath Rao enjoyed his guilty honours but a short time; and although the assistance of the English was disgracefully granted him, the Confederacy was too formidable, and the indignation of the Marathas too great, to submit to the Government of a Bramin, poluted with the blood of his nearest relation."—Scott Waring.

Mahadji Sindhia's claims reflects the highest credit on the heroic Peshwa, the "Protector of the weak against the strong," as Grant Duff justly observes.

Malhar Rao Holkar joined the expedition under Raghoba Dada and they proceeded together towards Gwalior. The Rajah of Gohad[1] had defied the Marathas and it was now the aim of Raghoba Dada and Malhar Rao Holkar to punish the recalcitrant chief. The operations against the Gohad chief were prolonged for about eight months, as he had a strong position and ample provisions. During the siege of Gohad a serious danger befell Mahadji Sindhia, who was charged with intriguing with the Jat Chief and of supplying him with ammunition and provisions. Raghoba Dada was incensed beyond measure when he heard of these allegations of treachery against Mahadaji Sindhia and issued orders that Sindhia should be visited with the sentence of death. As soon as this serious affair was reported to the Peshwa Madhav Rao, he sent urgent letters to Malhar Rao Holkar and Vithal Shivdeo Vinchurkar urging them both to adopt measures to save Mahadji Sindhia at all costs from the wrath of Raghoba Dada. Malhar Rao and Vinchurkar did their best to persuade Raghoba to withdraw the orders but in vain. Holkar was in a difficulty. The young and spirited Peshwa had ordered that Mahadji Sindhia

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(1) The Rajah of Gohad owed his rise to the Peshwa Baji Rao I, who had conferred the fort of Gohad together with the Pergana in Jagheer on the Rajah for his excellent services to the Peshwa during his memorable invasions of Hindustan—Vide Sardesai p. 203.



MAHADJI SINDHIA.

should be saved at all hazards, while Raghoba, the Peshwa's uncle insisted on inflicting the death sentence. Malhar Rao's resource-fulness and worldly wisdom were of great help to him at this time. Holkar effected by humility and submission what could not be achieved through entreaties and arguments. At last through Malhar Rao's tact, skill and sagacity Mahadji Sindhia was saved. When Holkar sent his report to Poona about Sindhia's safety, the Peshwa Madhavrao was exceedingly rejoiced to hear of the happy news. The siege of Gohud ended in the submission of the Jat chief, who was brought with folded hands into the presence of Raghoba. Peace was concluded with the Gohud chief, who was compelled to pay a tribute of three lakhs. Great credit is due to Malhar Rao Holkar for the rescue of Mahadji Sindhia from this serious danger, as well as for the successful end of the Gohud siege. While these satisfactory issues of the Jat troubles were in progress the health of the hero of this narrative was being undermined by the strain both of physical work and mental worry. The old warrior repaired to Alampur to take some repose after all the hardships of the protracted siege and military operations. The apparent disease and ailment was pain in the ear, but the real malady was certainly the strain of work, which had told on the iron constitution of this gallant warrior,. His life had been spent in the hardships of camp life and the difficulties and dangers of the battle field. The death scene of this old warrior was really touching and imposing. Raghoba Dada, Mahadaji Sindhia, Malerao Holkar and Tukoji Holkar were called to have the last sight of the great hero, whose last words deserve to be recorded in this narrative. Malhar Rao placed the hand of his grandson

Malerao, in those of Raghoba Dada, and begged that the young man might be supported and enabled to serve the Shreemant(1). Thereafter he placed his grandson's hand in those of Mahadji Sindhia and Tukoji Holkar. The latter humbly said to the dying Sardar that he (Tukoji Holkar) was a servant and did not deserve that honour, whereupon Malhar Rao replied in a faltering voice and in significant terms:"माझ्या मागें माझें नांव राखून श्रीमंतांची चाकरी तूंच करशील" (You are quite fit to maintain my reputation after my death and to serve the Shreemant, Peshwa). The gallant Malhar Rao then breathed his last peacefully on (वैशाख शु. ११) the 20th May 1766 at Alampur, where a cenotaph was built in his honour.

The Peshwa keenly felt the situation arising out of the sad death of Malhar Rao Holkar at a time when the affairs in Hindustan generally and especially at Delhi were in need of trained and experienced military leaders. The hot haste with which Holkar was sent to the North, as soon as a temporary victory was obtained over Hyder Ali, well points out that the Peshwa's mind was as full

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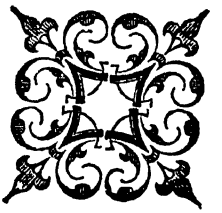
(1) In a Letter to Vithal Shivdeo, the Peshwa Madhao Rao makes a brief but touching reference to the lamentable death of Malhar Rao Holkar:— "मल्हारजी होळकरांस देवआज्ञा झाली याचे वर्तमान श्रवण होऊन परम खेद झाला. मातबर सरदार मोठे दाबाचे होते. तीर्थरुपांची व त्यांची परस्पर भेटी होऊन काल झाला हा सुक्रतांशच. तिकडील मनसुबे तुमचे हातें झाले, व पुढें ही उमदे उमदे मनसुबे करून हिंदुस्थानचा बंदोबस्त करावा ही तुमची उमेद आहेच. तदनुरुप तीर्थरुपांस विनंती करावी ज्यांत लौकिकास्पद तेंच तीर्थरुपांचे आशे प्रमाणें करून दाखवाल."—Rajwade's Khand.

of important plans[1] regarding the imperial affairs as about the subjugation of Hyder's territory. In the Peshwa's letter above given the words " मातबर सरदार मोठे दाबाचे होते " (" a powerful Sardar with great influence ") from the Peshwa's pen deserve special attention. This Peshwa's correspondence was very extensive and always to the point and full of meaning. The absence of Malhar Rao in the negotiations regarding the Delhi affairs was, indeed a great loss to the Maratha Government. Had Malhar Rao Holkar lived a few years more, he would certainly have been highly delighted to witness the growing strength of the Maratha power under this energetic and just Peshwa, who had not only wiped away the sad memories of Panipat but had even impressed the Afghan Ameer with the might of the Marathas who had become more powerful in 1772, eleven years after the battle of Panipat[1] of 1761, A. D.

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(1) The English were trying to obtain a footing in the Imperial city and politics. Madhav Rao had come to know about this. The Peshwa's foresight and alertness may be Judged from his letter in this Connection:— इंग्रेजांचा प्रवेश दिल्लींत होउ देउ नयें दिल्लिस प्रवेश झालिया उखळणार नाहींत. टोपीकरांत इंग्रजांनीं डोई उचलली आहे. इंग्रज चढी लागला आहे. त्याचें सुख सुजादौलाआदिकरून कोणास नाहीं.....इंग्रेजांनीं बंगाला पादशाहापासून लिहून घेतला, तोहि तजविजीनें सुटेतें पुढें केल्यास होईल.—Madhavrao's Life by Sardesai page 179.

(1) Abdali had been finally defeated in 1767 by the Sikhs whose rising power was an eyesore to the Ameer. Vide pages 190-191, Sardesai's Madhao Rao I. He realised the futility of his ambition to obtain a firm footing in India and died in the June of 1773 at Marghan, after a protracted illness The noble part played by the Sikhs in the protection of the Hindu religion in the Punjab and other parts of Northern India is well known. The Sikh Panth of Guru Nanak Sahib is based on the doctrines of the Vedanta Philosophy—Vide Sir Lepel Griffin's History of the Punjab Chiefs.





DEVI AHILYABAI HOLKAR.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Khasgi and its grant.

Malhar Rao's and Gaotamabai's influence on the formation of Ahilyabai's Character. Malhar Rao Holkar's letters to Ahalyabai.



We have already cursorily alluded to the Khasgi, an Inam conferred by the Peshwa Baji Rao I. on Gautamabai, wife of Malhar Rao Holkar, in perpetuity in the year 1734 A. D. Baji Rao's letter in this connection is dated 20th January 1734 (Paush Vadya 12th 1655 shake Year). Malhar Rao had applied to Chimnaji Balal, the Peshwa's brother and victor of Malwa and Bassein, in this connection and the request of Holkar was strongly supported by Chimnaji, who knew the services rendered by Malhar Rao. In no Maratha or other Indian State such an institution as "Holkar's Khasgi" exists. In fact it was a special request from Malhar Rao and specially granted by Baji Rao I. at the instance of Chimnaji Appa. The Khasgi is the Estate of the Ruling Sovereign's consort to be managed entirely by the latter and separate from Daolat.[1] We give below a free translation of the letter of Baji Rao to Malhar Rao Holkar, granting the Inam of Khasgi and setting forth the details therewith connected. Baji Rao's Letter runs as follows:—

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(1) In my "Life of Devi Shree Ahilyabai Holkar" I have said much on this subject. Mr. Sarvate's article in this connection, refuting Khare Shastri's arguments, is also interesting. Vide Ahalyabai's Life.

श्रीराम.



मि. पौष वा. १२
रविवार शक १६५५
ता. २० जानेवारी इ. स. १७३४.

राजश्री मल्हारजी होळकर.

गोमावी यांस.

अखंडितलक्ष्मी अलंकृत राजमान्य स्नेा. बाजीराव बल्लाळ पेशवे पंतप्रधान. अनेक आशिरवाद. मुा. स. अरबा-सलासीन-मया व आलफ. माळवे प्रांतीं वाटण्या होळकर २, शिंदे २, पवार १, असे पाच हिशानी प्रगणे निहा (निहाय) सनद सन मुा साली दिल्ही गेली. त्याजवर तुह्मी परगणे निहाय खासगीचा हिस्सा काढून सरंजामीतून वजा करून आपले कुटुंबास इनाम लाऊन देणें विशीं चिमणाजी बल्लाल पेशवे यांचे नावें पत्र लिहिलें त्यास दफाते पत्राचे पोटी सरंजामीतून वजा करून इनाम मखलासीची याद पेश जालेवर तुह्मास लिहा. येतें कीं तुमचे ताब्यांत खासगी व दौलत असे दोनी प्रथक प्रथक कायम करून तुमचे कुटुंब सौा. गौतम[1] बाईचे नावे इनाम देऊन सनद व कपडे पाठविले आहेत. तरी खासगी कडेस इनामी तालुके निरंतर चालविणे तपसील येणे प्रो.

२१३००० प्रो महेश्वर चोळी व प्रो इंदूर पो (पैकी) हरसोल व प्रो सांवेर पो बरलोई तालुका प्रो देपाळपूर पो तालुके हतोद, व प्रो महत्पूर पो जगोटी, व करंजमा कडोन वगैरे बर हुा (हुकुम) यादी मखला सीची.

३६०१० दक्षिण प्रांति चांदवड पो गांवे व अबाड पो कोरेगांव वगैरे मोगलाई कडील बर हुा. याद.

२९९०१०

येकूण इनाम कुलबाब कुलकानू, दरोबस्त खासगी कडील नेमून दिल्ले आहे. तरी निरंतर उपभोग घेऊन नविन सनदेचा आक्षेप न घेणे जाणिजे. छ. २९ सावान-बहुत काय लिहिणे. लेखन सीमा.

ITS TRANSLATION

To Malharji Holkar. After blessings,

Last year a sanad was granted dividing the Province of Malwa in five shares, 2 Holkar, 2 Sindhia and 1 Pawar. You applied to Chimnaji Balal to deduct the Khasgi from the Saranjami portion and to bestow it as Inam on your wife. You are hereby ordered that Khasgi and Daolut portions should be separately treated and that the Khasgi is conferred as an Inam in the name of your wife Soubhgyawati Gaotamabai. A Sanad to this effect with the dress of honour is herewith sent. The Talukas given as Khasgi should continue for ever as detailed below:—

263000	Rs. Maheshwar, Choli, Indore, Harsola, Depalpur, Mahidpur, Barloi, Jagoti, and Makdone,.
36010	Rs. Chandwad and Ambad with Mogalai Villages.
299010	

Thus came the Khasgi into existence from the year 1734 and it lasts to this day. It is a unique institution with a liberal latitude for the energy, administrative capacity and charitable inclinations of the consorts of the sovereign Rulers of Indore. During the Peshwa Madhao Rao's time a fresh letter was granted by that wise Peshwa

to Devi Ahilyabai Holkar confirming the Sanad given by Baji Rao I, when Raghoba was alleged to cherish a sinister motive about Holkar in Malwa.

Before finishing this Chapter we wish to briefly allude to the benign iufluence of Malhar Rao and Gaotamabai on the formation of the sturdy character of Devi Ahilyabai, who was asked to manage several private and public affairs even during the life time of Malhar Rao. The letters written by Malhar Rao are also interesting in this connection. After the death of Khanderao, Devi Ahilyabai's husband at Deeg, both the old warrior and his wife Gaotamabai comforted their heavy hearts by guiding Devi Ahilyabai to manage the house as well as the other affairs and took delight in seeing that their illustrious daughter-in-law was particularly diligent and painstaking in doing the onerous duties and there-by serving indirectly to lighten the load of sadness and grief of her father-in-law and mother-in-law in their declining age.

We give here some letters (published in the "Malhari Martand" in 1917) from which it will be seen how Malhar Rao was helped by his daughter-in-law the saintly Ahilyabai in the management of the Jagheers and house-hold affairs as well as in the casting of cannons and small fire arms, the preparation of ammunition and similar other functions:-

"चिरंजीव अहिल्याबाई यासि प्रति मल्हारजी होळकर आशिर्वाद. तुझी पत्र पाठविलें तें पावलें. लेखनार्थ आवगत जाहला. ग्वालेरीस तोफखाना ठेवावयाची चारियाची सोय नव्हती याकरितां सिरोंजेस घेऊन जातों तेथें तोफखाना ठेऊं म्हणोन लिहिलें. ऐसियासी तोफखाना

सिरोंजेस ठेऊन तेथें बेलास चारादाणी याचा सोय उत्तम प्रकारें करून देऊन तानूस तोफासुद्धां ठेवणें. आणि तुह्मी इंदुरीं जाणें. तेथें गेलियावरी सेंधवीयाचा वसूल ताजपूरचा (?) बंदोबस्त जरूर करणें. वरकड इकडील मजकूर तुह्मांस लिहिला. प्रस्तुत दिल्लीहून कूच जाहलें. अंतरवेदातून बुंदेलखंडचे सुमारे येत असों. पुढील मनसोबा उपयोगी पाहूं तैसा घडोन येईल. जाणिजे छ २ रमजान छ १३ सन ११७४ फाल्गुन मास.

The above letter would show how the Soobhedar entrusted state functions to the supervision of Ahilyabai. Another letter still further supports the view that the early influences and training, so freely received, was of much help in the formation of the administrative knowledge and experience acquired by Ahilyabai when the Soobhedar was alive.

" चिरंजीव अहिल्याबाई यांसी अशिर्वाद उपरी गोहदकराकडील गदीचा जमाव आहे का पुरता मनास आणून मग तोपखाना पाठवीत जाणे. सहास सर्वथा गुंतत न जाणें. दबावानें जितके काम होईल तेथवर करीत जाणें तोपखाना आपल्यापासून कोणाच्या भरवशावर सर्वथा लांब पाठवावयाची तजवीज न लावीत जाणें. तोपखान्याचा आब राहून आपला नक्ष साधे तो अर्थ लावीत जाणें छ ११ रमजान हे आशिर्वाद. "

We present some more letters from the Soobhedar all in the same strain. The letters which speak about the Gilchas (Afghans) are note-worthy:—

" चिरंजीव अहिल्याबाई यासी प्रती मल्हारजी होळकर आशिर्वाद येथील वर्तमान अगोदर तुह्मांस लिहून पाठविलें आहे. त्यावरून तुह्मास कळलें असेल. तूर्त येथील मजकूर तरी दिल्लीहून आम चे कूच होऊन छ ११ रमजानी अनुप शहरा नजीक कर्जवास येथें आलों. या स्थलीं हुताशनी होईल. गिलच्याचे भानगडीस नजीब सामिल आहे. आबदाली सरहिंद आली-

कडे आला म्हणोन बोलवा आहे. त्याजकडे नजीबखान रवाना केला त्याजकडील तह रहाची गोष्ट पुर्ती कळली. यावरी पुढील तर्तूद करणें तें कर्तव्यांत येईल. ठीक खबर ये तोंपर्यंत गंगातीरी मुकाम होतील. गिलच्या कडील बातमी पक्की कळलीयावरी सकुराबादचे रोखें येण्याचे होईल, दुसरे देवा कासीद या समागमें पत्रें तुह्मांस पाठविली ते पावोन खानगीचे तरतूदींत असाल. त्यास मार्गाचें ठीक नाहीं. समागमें भरवशाचें पथक नसे. याजकरितां रवानगी केली नसली तरी सूर्त कोणासही इकडे न पाठविणें. तुह्मी आवधीच ग्वालेरीसच मुक्काम करून असणें. आम्हीही त्वकरच त्या प्रांतिं येतों. तिकडे आलियावरी तुम्हांस बोलावयाचे जालें तरी बोलावून घेऊं गोहदकरा कडील एक गढी तुम्ही तोफा घालून खाली केली म्हणोन येथे कासीदानें सांगितलें त्यास तुम्ही ग्वालेरीच राहून तोफांचें गोळे व जंबुरी याचे गोळे याचा कारखाना घालून सरंजाम पुरता करणें. ऐंदा आम्हांस गोहद कराचें पारपत्य जरूर कर्तव्य आहे. रवानगी करील तरी भरवशीयाची सोबत सामान चांगले असेल आणि तुमची निशा पडली तर रवानगी करणें नाहींतर तेथेंच असावें छ. ११ रमजान पो छ २३ रमजान सुमाखयास सितैन सन ११७४.

श्री.

चिरंजीव आहिल्याबाई यासी प्रति मल्हारजी हेळकर आसीर्वाद उपरी तुम्ही आपलें लिहीत जाणें विशेष, इकडे पाठवून द्यावयाकरितां आगोदर येक दोन पत्रे तुम्हांस लिहिली होती. त्यासमागमें आवघ्यांचाच विचार यावयाचा होता म्हणोन ऐकिले ऐसियास आमच्या मर्जीचा प्रकार तुम्हांस विदित आहे. ऐसे असतां आज्ञेशिवाय येणे कामास येईल कीं काय. अथः-पर आमच्या मर्जीचा दरकार आहे तरी इकडे खानगी करावयाची लिहिल्याप्रमाणें रा. बहेरो आनंद व राजश्री गोविंद शामराज यांज बरोबर रवानगी करून तुम्ही तोपखान्या सह वर्तमान सिरोंजेस जाणें चिरंजीव मालेराव वगैरे कोण्ही येऊं लागले तरी कामास येणार नाही. ऐसे ध्यानीं आणून लिहिल्या प्रमाणें वर्तणूक करणें. आबदाली सरहिंदें आलीकडे आला. सुजाउद्दाला वगैरे झाडून रोहिले येक जाहले. गिलच्या दिल्लीस येणार पुढें मनसोबा कसा होतो उपयोगी पडेल तसा केला जाईल. तुम्ही एक घडी विलंब न लावतां तोफ-

खानीया सुध्दा सिरोंजेस जाणें मध्यें कोठें न उतरणें आणि लिहिल्याप्रमाणें रवानगी वटेश्वराचें मागें करणें छ ७ रमजान बहुत काय ० ० पो छ १३ सन ११७४ पारनदी फाल्गुन मास.

श्री.

चिरंजीव अहिल्याबाई यास प्रति मल्हारजी होळकर आसीर्वाद उपरी येथील कुशल जाणोन स्वकीय लेखन करीत जाणें विशेष, तुम्हां समागमें तानू तोफखाना घेऊन आला आहे त्यास तोफखाना झाडून सिरोंजेसी ठेऊन तेथें बैलास चारा पोटभर व चंदीची बेगमी करून देऊन मग तुम्ही पुढें जाणें रा. त्रिमणाजी गोविंद मामलेदार यांस बैलाच्या चाऱ्याविसी व तोफखानीयाच्या डागडुजी करितां ताकीद करून तोफांची झाडुन तयारी करऊन ठेवणें. येविसी असावधता नसावी. ते प्रांतीं लवकरच येतो. तिकडे आलियावर तोफांचे प्रयोजन लागेल. जे समई पत्र जाईल ते घडीस स्वार होऊन पावल्या पाहिजेत. यास्तव दोरखंड कळकाय वगैरे सर्व सांभाळून सिध्दता करून ठेवावी. बैल ताजे तराख करून ठेवणें. तोफखानियाचें तयारीविसी येथून तानुनें लिहिले आहे आणि तुम्ही ही ताकीद करून बैलाची वगैरे तरतूद चांगली करवावी. जाणिजे छ. २ रमजान बहुत काय लिहिणें.

These five letters, for which we are indebted to the "Mallari Martand Vijaya" paper deserve much attention when studying the life and career of Ahilyabai. Therein we come across the character and temper of Malhar Rao Holkar, who, though affectionate and kind-hearted, was very strict and always exacted obedience to his orders and instructions, as the following words unequivocally point out:—

"आमचे मर्जीचा प्रकार तुह्मास विदीत आहे ऐसे असतां आज्ञेशिवाय येणें कामा येईल की काय?"

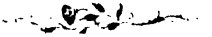
In the letters there is a reference to the Mahomeden combination and the advance of the Afghans. For these

reasons Holkar advised the remaining of his young grandson Male Rao and other members of the family in the south, far away from the theatre of war and asked Ahilyabai to stay at Seronj with the Artillery, which was to be kept in a state of readiness and sent on when required. "(1)

(1) Vide "Devi Ahilyabai Holkar" by the present writer, pages 13-17.

CHAPTER XIX.

Material and Social condition of the people in Maratha Raj prior to and during the period of Malhar Rao's Career.



We think it may be interesting to know something about the Material and Social condition of the Maratha people, during the career of Malhar Rao. We therefore take a birds'-eye-view of this subject in the light of the material, that is available now, as we believe that it would elicit certain points which secured general prosperity to the people in those days.

(a) The Material condition of the Maratha Raj was on the whole satisfactory, as disclosed in the Maratha records. Although then the provinces were in more or less unsettled state, on account of military expeditions and frequent appeals to arms, the peasantry and people at large were happy as the burden of taxation was very light. The prices of food stuffs were very cheap and consequently the cost of living was also very moderate. Raw materials and food stuffs, wheat, cotton, oil seeds and others were not exported to foreign countries on a large scale but mostly remained in the local markets, thereby conducing to very low prices and cheap living. The cultivators of the soil could not become very rich but they were happy and flourishing as Baji Rao I. and his successors were most particular that standing crops should never be injured and forced labour should not be allowed. As the rulers lived

in the land, money remained in the country and the financial condition of the people was satisfactory. Grazing lands for cattle, almost free, were reserved on an extensive scale and forest rules were extremely mild, both these causes conducing to a satisfactory and healthy breed of cattle, the joy of the peasantry and the source of successful agricultural pursuits. The rigours of the Forest Department were unknown(1).

Gold and Diamond mines were worked very satisfactorily in the country. India was far famed for its gold and precious stones. We present an extract from the writings of Mr. Nathneil Smith, Director of the East India Company, which we trust will be interesting to our readers:– "The Marathas are still formidable from the situation and extent of their teritories, the mildness of their laws, their inexhaustable resources, their numerous armies and their manner of making war. By the wisdom of their treaties, the force of their arms and the asylum which refractory Rajas and Jamindars have found in their protection, they have stretched their dominion from sea to sea."(2)

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(1) Vide Grant Duff and Elphinstone, who pay a high tribute to the eminent and merciful regulations which were promulgated by the Peshwas for the good of the peasantry. "But under the Government of Balaji Baji Rao, Panchayats, the ordinary tribunals of Civil Justice began to improve. The Maratha dominion attained its greatest extent under Balaji Baji Rao's administration: and most of the principal Brahmin families can only date their rise from that period, in short, the condition of the whole population was in his time improved and the Maratha peasantry, sensible of the comparative amelioration which they began to enjoy, have ever since blessed the days of Nana Sahib Peshwa" Grant Duff, Vol. I. p. 624.

(2) As already observed the Mogul tyranny and opression originated from Moghul power, against which the Marathas directed their

"In proportion as the power of the Mogul Empire decreased that of the Marathas gathered strength. Their annual revenues are estimated at seventeen millions sterling. The inhabitants groan under no enormous taxes. The Government is everywhere lenient and humane. No blood is shed, no outrage committed against the privilege of our common nature."

This testimony to the Maratha rule is endorsed by Grant Duff[1] and other Historians. We therefore stand on the terra firma of tangible evidence when we say that the general material condition of the Maratha Raj during the period of Malhar Rao's career and afterwards was, on the whole, satisfactory. Vide "Administrative System of the Marathas" By Dr. S. N. Sen. M. A. Ph. D.

(b) Social condition:—The social condition of the Maratha Raj during the career of Malhar Rao Holkar was somewhat interesting and remarkable. It is not necessary to allude here to the miserable state of the various provinces of India during the rule of Aurangzeb, when the axtreme limit of social prostration was reached. The rise of the Maratha power checked the tide of repression and opression and conduced to as happy a social life as was possible in those times. It is also note-worthy as observed elsewhere in this work, that the relations between the Hindu and the Mahommedan population at

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attack. The saints of India produced "A peaceful atmosphere" so far as the Ryat, the population at large, was concerned. Our readers should particularly bear in mind that there was no communal animosity as such. The credit of all this is due to the Hindu and the Mahommedan saints in India.

large were amicable, were never far from satisfactory, as several Mohammadan saints had already prepared the path by their catholic preachings and high ideals. Kabir Sahib and other worthy Mohommedan saints have written much, which served to infuse a spirit of unity between the Hindus and the Mohommedan (1) population.

The Hindus had begun to assert their rights and privileges in their various provinces, as the central Moghal power was decayed and the Marathas were making a decided advance to supremacy as much in social as in political matters. The Education of the society in general was rudimentary, but the military training was a prominent factor in it, as it was paying and leading to rosy chances of advancement.

(१) नगर जिल्ह्यामध्यें चांभार गोंदे म्हणून एक परगणा आहे त्या पैकी कवठे जिती येथील चौगुला पुजाजी बिन मुधोजी बांडघर हा दाबलजी सोमवंशी म्हणून जो मराठ्यावर प्रसिद्ध सरदार होता, त्याच्या सैन्यामध्यें नौकर होता, दाबलजी सोमवंशी यानें इ. सन १७१६ चे सुमारास सुरत प्रांता वर स्वारी केली, त्यावेळीं तो मोंगलास हस्तगत झाला. मोंगलांनीं त्यास भ्रष्ट करून वर्ष सवा वर्ष आपल्या नौकरी मध्यें ठेवले. पुढें बाळाजी विश्वनाथ पेशवे हे दिल्लीहून परत आले, त्यावेळीं हा युक्तिनें मोगलांच्या लष्करातून पळून येऊन मराठ्यांच्या लष्करांत सामिल झाला व नंतर आपल्या गांवी गेला. तेथे आल्या नंतर त्यानें सर्व गोतास, आपणांस मुसलमानांनी जबरीनें भ्रष्ट केल्याचा वृतांत श्रुत केला. तेव्हां जिती, चांभार गोंदें, हिंगणी हिवेगव्हाण, भेटफळ भांबोरे वगैरे ठिकाणच्या मोकद्दमांनीं व समस्त गोतांनी मिळून शाहू माहराजाकडे अर्ज केला व झालेला वृत्तांत सांगितला. तेव्हां शाहू महाराजांनी सर्व हकिकत मनांत आणून सर्व ठिकाणच्या मोकदमांस व वतनदारांस अशीं आज्ञा पत्रें पाठविलीं कीं ' पुताजी मजकूर याजवर मोगलानें बलात्कार करून भ्रष्ट केले. हे कांहीं आपले संतोषे भ्रष्ट झाला नाहीं

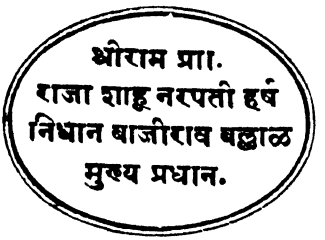
याकरितां यास गोतामध्यें घ्यावयाची आज्ञा केली आहे, तरी तुम्ही समस्त मिळोन, शास्त्रा प्रमाणें शुद्ध करून, गोतामध्यें घेणें, आणि पूर्ववत वर्तन करणें हे आज्ञापत्र छ १४ जिल्काद इसने अशरीफ मया व अलफ तारखेचे असून शाहू महाराजांच्या रोजनिशीमध्यें नमूद आहे '—इतिहास संग्रह.

As regards foreign adventures, the state of society was extremely unsatisfactory. None thought of crossing the "Kalapani". Hence there was no knowledge of the outer world. Isolated in this way, the Indians were ignorant of the progress that Europe generally and England particularly had made. Lack of scientific knowledge was the bane of society. Crude ideas about "Untouchable" were generally prevalent, though Baji Rao Balal was the first to appoint a Mahar to high Military position and was thus a solitary exception far in advance of the times.

Another remarkable thing that strikes one particularly is the absence of communal riots in those times. Fanatic rulers like Aurangzeb, Hyder, and Tipu Sultan took interest in forced conversions of the Hindus and persecuted the Hindu population. But thanks to the preachings of saintly Mahommedan poets like Kabir Sahib and others, there was almost a total absence of communal riots, fatal fights between the Hindu and Muslem population atlarge, as India is witnessing now. With the rise of the Maratha power, the forced conversions and cow slaughter were, of course, prohibited. During this period, we find that the Emperors of Delhi warmly received Hindu Saints like the famous Saint Tulsidas, Narayan Dixit and others and conferred rich Jagheers on them for the up-keep of their Samsthans. We present to our readers two interesting instances of Maratha gentlemen

being retaken into the fold of the Hindu community by the orders of the Chatrapati and the Peshwa. We give the original letters written by King Shahu and the Peshwa's brother. Our readers would find from these cases that advanced and liberal ideas were not altogether absent in Maharashtra in those days, though orthodoxy and superstition were the order of the times:—

अजम देशमुख व देशपांडे तालुके खारापट्टण यांसी चिमणाजी बल्लाळ सुरु सन सीत सल्लासिन मया अलफ—



रामाजी सिंदा बाणकोटीं होता तो शामलास सांपडल्यावर शामलानें जुलमानें बाटविला. याकरितां क्षेत्र भिमाशंकर येथें पाठविला. तेथें भीसान्निध प्रायश्चित देऊन गोतांत पुर्ववत वर्तावें असा निश्चय करून पत्र दिल्हें. याप्रमाणें गोतपत झाली पाहिजे. याकरितां तुह्मास पत्र सादर केलें आहे. तरी गोतांस सांगोन त्याची गोतपत करऊन आपले जातींत पूर्वबत वर्तेसे करणें जाणिजे स. १० जिल्हेज.

(TRANSLATION.)

To the Deshmukh and Deshpande Taluka Kharapatan, After compliments.

One Ramaji Sindhia, living in Bankote, was forcibly converted to Islam by the (Hubshi) shamla. Ramaji was sent to the holy place of Bhimashankar, where the Shakaracharya re-admitted Ramaji into the community after the Prayaschitta (purification) and issued a letter to that effect. Accordingly Ramaji must be admitted into his

caste as before (without any loss of social status) after relating the matter to his caste fellows.

The general spirit of the Hindu society, just emerging out of the Moghal yoke, was bracing and in Maharashtra it was full of that buoyancy which is characteristic of a young rising nation. Poets and bards depict those times in encouraging terms and the tide of religious revival had given a very attractive tone to the Hindu society generally and especially to Maharastra, though somewhat immersed in superstition and ignorant of the progress and strength of Foreign Countries and thereby lacking in a proper knoweldge of the political aspirations and national solidarity of those nations, outside of India, which were trying to obtain a footing in Hindustan by means of superior Education, diplomacy, military skill, naval strength and spirit of adventure.

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(1) "Education in Europe liberalised thought and life, made people bold, active and venturesome, while in India people remained steeped in ignorance and superstition, self-contented and resigned, seeking salvation in the world beyond, without caring to improve the one they were living in."—Sardesai, pages 175-176, Main Currents of Maratha History. During the days of Shiwaji and Baji Rao I and till the death of Nana Fadnevis in 1800 and Mahadji Sindhia in 1794, there was some National spirit among the Marathas. Afterwards the reign of the "Incompetents" was instrumental in undoing the work of their illustrious forefathers. Vide Prof. Sinha's "The Rise of the Peshwas" Chapter III. Page 351, Journal of Indian History, December, 1928.

श्री. शके १६६२ इसवी सन १७४०,

The following sanad points out the tolerant and just spirit of the Hindu rule which began in Malwa during Baji Rao I's regime. The Province was divided among the Peshwa's Sardars Sindhia, Holkar and Pawar.

राजेश्री कमाविसदार वर्तमान भावी प्रो
इंदुर गोसावीयांस.

अखंडितलक्ष्मी आलंकृत राजमान्य.....
स्नेहांकित मल्हारजी होळकर दंडवत सु॥ सन इहिदे अरबेन मया अल्लफ. शके १६६२ श्री मारूती खेडापती कसब्यातील याची पुज्या अविंधराज्य भणोन मुरादशा फकीर करीत होता अलिकडे हिंदुराज्य जाहल्या वरून परगणे मजकुरचे मामलेदार व जमीनदार वगैरे यांनी जाहीर केले. आपले दैवताची पुज्या अविंध करितो हे आपले राज्यास चांगले नाही. त्याज वरून सर्वांचे अनुमते फकीरास राजी करून या निमित्य तीन बिघेवाडा देऊन पुज्या बंद करून सरकारातुन पुजा कृष्णभक्त महंत बैरागी रूपदास बाबा संप्रदाय निमानंदी निरवाणी सप्तत्र पाहून याजकडे सांगोन हें सनद तृह्यास सादर केली असे तरी बाबा यांचे शिष्यपरंपरा श्रीजीचे पुजेचे काम याचे हाते घेत जाऊन पुन्हा पत्राचा हरएक विसी अक्षेप न घेता याची नकल लिहून घेऊन असल पत्र महंत बाबास भोगवाटियास परतोन देणें जाणिजे छ: ७ रमजान बहुत काय लिहिणे.

श्री.
मोर्तब सुद.

श्री म्हाळसाकांत
चरणी तत्पर खंडोजी
सुत मल्हारराव
होळकर

खासगी चारिटेबल फाईल नंबर ३५ ता. १७-९-१४ ईा.

CHAPTER XX.

Character of Malhar Rao Holkar.



So passed away from this world the hero of this narrative after attaining an age, which falls to the lot of only a few. The best traits in his character were his deep-rooted piety, his uncommon fidelity, his undaunted spirit and valour on the field of battle. He was familiar with war almost from his boyhood. His hot and occasionally uncontrollable temper precluded the possibility of his developing the qualities of a great statesman or a polished diplomatist but still he was a very sagacious counsellor and a highly experienced man of the world in his oldage and was often consulted by his master the Peshwa. Though some European historians have doubted the attachment of Malhar Rao Holkar to the Peshwa from solitary statements as wells as from a misunderstanding about his conduct at Panipat, we have the strongest proof that he was as conspicuously loyal to the Peshwa as any other of the great Sirdars who rose to position and power in the eighteenth century under the auspices and in the service of the great Baji Rao. He was an orthodox Hindu warrior of the old type and this is the best and the briefest description of his general character[1]. In private life

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(1) Malhar Rao Holkar's keen interest in Swadharma (the Hindu religion) appears in a forceful light from the following incident. A mosque (near the temple of Shree Kashivishweshwar) newly built as it was, was required by Holkar to be demolished and a temple to be built in

he was simple, hospitable and frank to a degree. Although he had not the polished manners of a courtier, he had the good sense and the candour of a warrior, and the goodness of a person with strong faith in the Almighty God. His wife Gaotamabai was a lady who added to his wordly happiness as well as to his 'paramartha' by her virtue, good sense, and high-minded behaviour and led to his domestic happiness, glory and fame. The extraordinary fortune of the hero of this historical biography can best be judged from the circumstance that he began as a Shiledar and died as a mighty Sirdar and Subhedar of the Peshwa with sixteen crores in his treasury, and a splendid income of 75 lakhs Rs. annually. Malhar Rao Holkar was the most distinguished character in advancing the Maratha conquests. He entered Bundelkhand, and established posts in the neighbourhood of Agra. The emperor was surprised and defeated, while his women and family fell into the hands of the victors. But this success was but partial in comparison with the more important actions of Raghunath Rao, who, advancing by Ajmere, plundered Delhi, subdued Lahore and Multan nor stopped until he had reached

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its place (Vide Itihas Sangraha page 41, Vol. II.) The Brahmans approached this subject in great anxiety, as the following extract shows:—

"मल्हारजी होळकर चे चित्तांत कीं, मशीद विश्वेश्वराची ज्ञानवापी-जवळील ते पाडून देवालय करावे. परंतु पंचद्रविड ब्राह्मण चिंता करितात कीं, हे मशीद प्रसिद्ध आहे. पातशहाचा हुकूम नसतां पाडिल देऊळ करील. एकादा पादशहा दुष्ट झाला म्हणजे ब्राह्मणांस मरण येईल."

For details vide "Life of Mahadji Sindhia" by the present writer, pages 228-229.

the Kumaoon Hills, which separate India from China. The impetuosity of the torrent, however, was lost in the length of its course. Timoor, the Abdali's son, fled in confusion, and Adina Beg, for a large sum, was invested with the government of Lahore. Raghunath Rao did not stop to regulate the conquered provinces; he committed that duty to ~~Jankoji~~ Gana Scindia, and returned to the Deccan, where his reception was less cordial than his services might have demanded.

Malhar Rao's simplicity was proverbial as will be evident from the following well known incident. "It was customary to have a dinner party at Poona on the anniversary of the death of Baji Rao I, when Sindhia, Holkar and other intimate associates and Sardars of Baji Rao used to be invited, and the principal lady of the Peshwa's House had to serve all the guests at the same time. Once it happened that Malhar Rao Holkar had his dogs with him when he came to the dinner. Gopikabai (wife of the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao) asked Malhar Rao not to bring the dogs into the dinner hall. Holkar replied, he would not eat without his dogs sharing his dinner with him, and would rather dine in the outer verandah with his dogs."—(1)Sardesai.

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(1) On page 200 of his work entitled "Peshwa Madhav Rao I," Mr. G. S. Sardesai says as follows:— "पेशवाईच्या अव्वलीपासून मराठेशाहीतील सर्व घडामोडी व स्थित्यंतरें पाहून त्यांत प्रत्यक्ष भाग घेतलेला अनुभविक जुना सरदार यांमध्यें हा एकच असून, त्याचे अंगीं मसलत, दूरदृष्टी व सावधपणा हे गुण विशेष होते." Madhava Rao I was, at first, influenced to some extent by the old and groundless prejudices against Malhar Rao. But this just Peshwa afterwards had a very high opinion about Holkar

In short, Malhar Rao Holkar was every inch a worthy warrior of that time-honoured school, of which the illustrious Shivaji and the heroic Baji Rao I were at-once the noblest and the brightest ornaments.(1). Thus ended the earthly career of Malhar Rao at the advanced age of 73. He had three wives, Gaotmabai, Banabai and Dwarka-bai. He had one Khanda Rani named Harkubai, who survived him for a long time and lived on amicable terms with the celebrated Ahilybai. He had two daughters Udabai and Suntubai.

On 23-7-1766 Malerao was formally recognized by the Peshwa Madhav Rao as a successor to Malhar Rao and was duly invested with the usual dress of honour and the functions of a Sardar and Saranjamdar.(2)

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and conferred on him undoubted marks of splendid appreciation for his meritorious services. This is, certainly, no mean compliment. We have given ample evidence on this point in previous chapters.

(1) Vide "The Marathas and the Moguls" by the present writer for details about Shivaji's and Baji Rao's lifework in founding and extending the Maratha power and their noble views about delivering the Hindus from the Mogul tyranny. The manner in which Shree Ramdas Swamee, Shree Brahmendra Swamee and Shree Narayan Dixit urged their disciples, Shivaji and Baji Rao, to strenuous exertions in this cause is already referred to and is also worthy of notice. Malhar Rao Holkar, Ranoji Rao Sindhia, the Powars and other Sirdars, who had imbibed the patriotic spirit of Shivaji and Baji Rao, continued the glorious work with remarkable energy and enthusiasm under the successor of this great Peshwa.

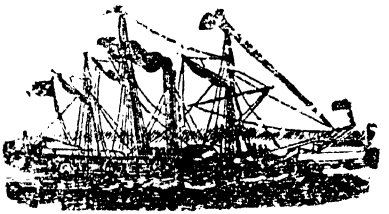
(2) As regards Gaotamabai's death before Malhar Rao I have given the view of Mr. Sardesai on this point. My opinion regarding this subject I have expressed already as follows in my "Life of the late Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar II" vide page 39:—"Ahilyabai carried

Indore enjoys the credit of having taken a lead in celebrating the anniversaries of such historical personages as Baji Rao I, Malhar Rao Holkar, Devi Shri Ahalyabai Holkar. Through the exertions of Sardar M. V. Kibe, the late Mr. B. N. Bhajekar and others these anniversary celebrations are held with due enthusiasm and eclat and Rai Bahadar S. M. Bapna takes hearty interest in them. A brief account of Malhar Rao Holkar's anniversary celebration under the Presidentship of Shreemant Sardar Chandroji Rao Sambhaji Rao Angre, of Gwalior, is given in the Appendix, as his speech is full of noble thoughts and admirable candour.



on the civil administration with the aid of Tukoji Rao Holkar I, who, as a near relative adopted by Subhedar Malhar Rao Holkar's widow Gaoutamabai, was recognised by the Peshwa Madhava Rao I, after the usual custom of the payment of Nazar to, and the receipt of Khillat from, the Peshwa's Durbar."

In my opinion there seems to be no great necessity of historical hair-splitting on this point at this date.



APPENDIX NO. 1.

"In addition to the calamities that the Punjab Hindus suffered from being exposed to the frequent inroads of the Muslim invaders they had to put up with constant insults at the hands of the Muslim officials and nobles. Life and property were not safe. Young, unmarried, beautiful Hindu girls were forcibly taken away from their parents and guardians. Marriage parties were way-laid. Bride-grooms were assassinated and their brides were snatched from them. The Hindu places of worship were desecrated; but no notice was taken of the conduct of the ruffians who did so. A regular campaign, under official patronage, was going on to forcibly convert the Hindus to the Muslim Faith; and, thus brothers were torn from brothers, fathers and mothers from their sons and daughters. Those who refused were tortured to death. All Hindu hearths were houses of mourning. A constant wail went forth from the Hindu Punjab....." Introduction to Guru Govind Singh's Life, page 2. The condition of the Hindus in other parts of India was equally pitiable and deplorable. More on this point is unnecessary. It was against this pitiable state of things that the Maratha saints and the Sikh Gurus preached sermons to their followers and prepared their minds for a potent resistance.

APPENDIX: No. 2.

"The services and achievements of this First Peshwa (Balaji Vishvanath) have not yet received proper recognition in History, since they are matters of only recent

research. Shahu in one of his letters styles him 'Atula-Parakrami-Sewak', i. e. 'a servant of in-comparable capacity,' showing thereby that Shahu did not bestow his Peshwaship on a mere clerk in the employ of the Senapaty, but on a worthy person of proved merit, after a full trial of five years..... We have sufficient material to assert that he possessed a singular grasp of the circumstances and the situation, in which Shahu and the whole Maratha Nation had been placed, and a rare fore-sight and statesmanship in utilising them towards completing the task of a Hindu Empire, which the Great Shivaji had set before himself, and which had long been impeded during the troubles of the two preceding reigns. Balaji had to look to the North, as his path to the South was permanently closed by the independent existence of Tara Bai's Kingdom."

Sardesai, Page 104.

"In the year 1710 the Rajputs met in a solemn assemblage on the borders of the Pushkar lake near Ajmere, and in deliberate concert, openly threw off their allegiance to the Moghul Emperor, solemnly vowed to stop the practice of giving their daughers in marriage to the Moghul Royal house and determined to wage open war against the Emperor, in case the latter would force any one of them to break the agreement which they then formed after full and long deliberation..... When therefore the first Peshwa Balaji and after him his soldier son Baji Rao I, began their work of building up the Hindu Empire of India, their efforts, it must be borne in mind, were fully supported by the prominent Rajput Princes, and Baji Rao I was hailed by them as a saviour of their national interests which had so long suffered terrible oppres-

sion. At any rate, it is enough for our immediate purpose to note the mutual cordiality that existed between the Marathas and the Rajputs when Chatrapati Shahu and his First Peshwa Balaji Vishavanath began to shape the future destinies of the rising Maratha Power."

Sardesai, Page. 106-7.

APPENDIX. No. 2.

It is impossible to understand the difficulties of Baji Rao, Malhar Rao Holkar, and the succeeding Peshwas unless we know the mentality of the Chatrapati Shahu. On this point Mr. Sardesai says as follows:—"Shahu, born in May 1682, roamed about as a child with his circumspect Mother Yesubai and his dashing father Sambhaji, undergoing exceptional privations and troubles, which came to an end when he was captured at the age of seven by Aurangzeb at the fall of Rajgad, and kept in secure custody in the moving Imperial Camp, where all personal comforts were provided for him by the kindly attentions of Aurangzeb's daughter Zinat-un-nisa Begum. Aurangzeb himself, feeling more pity than hatred for this son of his dead enemy, brought him up in his own camp with a view to use him as a pawn in his object of destroying the Maratha Power as circumstances would require. Having spent in captivity 18 long years, that is the best part of his youth or the period for learning and study, and having been brought up in the Imperial Zenana, Shahu attained an altogether soft and effeminate character, although he never lost his innate love

and warmth of heart towards his own people; he also possessed common sense; practical wisdom in judging men and matters; and above all an intensely obliging nature. He was always afraid of committing sin or doing wrong. His great and only drawback was his want of taste for active military life and aversion to leading soldiers on a battle field. He thus remained always ignorant of even the Geography of the various places where his Ministers and commanders were executing his plans and orders. At the age of 25 he was released and sent into the Deccan with the clear purpose of creating divisions in the Maratha ranks. He had to dispute the Maratha Throne with his cousin Shivaji and his astute aunt Tarabai. Shahu's Mother and cousins were taken to Delhi as hostages, lest he would throw away his allegiance to the emperor and declare his independence. It was, in fact, upon his stipulating always to remain a loyal vassal to Delhi and obey the orders of the emperor that he was released and allowed to go back to his country from beyond the Nerbudda. Possessing a God-fearing and pious nature, he faithfully observed his promise, and ever after strongly resisted all temptations or solicitations to declare open hostility against the Imperial authority. His Grand-father Shivajee started his Life's work in declared oppositions to the Muslim regime, by the suppression of which he hoped to establish an independent Kingdom of his own. Shahu, on the other hand, altogether renounced this avowed principle, even forgot the terrible War which his father and uncle had waged with the emperor for a quarter of Century, and ordered his Generals and Ministers to carve out new spheres of influence and activity without damaging the Central Moghul authority. This impossible task was thrown

on the shoulders of Shahu's Peshwas, who did their best on the one hand, to keep Shahu at ease, and on the other to carry out the work of the Hindu-Pad-Padshahi, as best they could, clearly keeping in view the ideal of Shivaji, as much as possible in the altered condition of their position. In fact, the very first campaign of Peshwa Balaji Vishvanath against Delhi in 1718, was undertaken at the express desire of Shahu to help the Emperor Faruksiyar out of his wretched situation. This dubious position of the Peshwas must always be kept in view, in order to understand the oft-repeated anamoly, why the Nizam was allowed to be a constant and dangerous neighbour, and why he was not finally conquered or crushed by the Peshwas in the South."

Page 98-100 M. C. M. H.

APPENDIX NO. 4.

थोरले मल्हारराव होळकर सुभेदार यांस पहिले बाजीराव साहेब पेशवे यांच्याकडून माळव्यांतील महाल यांच्या वाटणीस फौजेच्या सरंजामास मिळाले; त्या बद्दलचे त्यांचे स्वतःचे पत्र.

श्री. मि. आषाढ शु॥. ११ गुरुवार
शके १६५४ ता. २२ माहे जून
इ. स. १७३२ फ. स. ११४२
आ. स. ११३३.

अखंडित लक्ष्मी आलंकृत राजमान्य--स्नो बाजीराव बल्लाळ प्रधान आसिरवाद उपरी येथील कुशल जाणोन स्वकीये लिहिणें. विशेष प्रांत माळवा येथील वाटणीचे महाल वाटणी पांच (५) पैकी दोन तक्षीमा तुह्माकडे त्याजबद्दल महाल बीतपसील.

सारी रात्र दंगे गोटांत होऊन फौजा ताटकळोन उभ्या राहतात. घोडयांस चारा नाही. दुसरे, सारा वेळ तयारी. ऐसी जाजती मांडली आहे. नबाब बुध्दिवंत होत्साता हे बुध्दि वृध्दापकाळीं करून बदवक्र करून घेतला. दिल्ली आदि करून सतत बदवक्री चालली. कदाचित् नबाबांनीं रजपुतांनीं अवसान करून बाहेर युध्दास निघाले तरी कोस दोन कोस वेढून लगट करून निघते तरी संभवतें बैसलोंच आहों. जे गत बंगसाची ते गत यांची होईल नबाब थोर अमीर, फौज पाहतां तीस चाळीस हजार, हातनाला, व सुतरनाला, व बरकंदाज, व रेहकले समागमें बहुत, ऐसें असतां आश्रयास बसावे (हें) श्लाघ्य नव्हतें. विचारें पाहतां बसावया कारण हेंच कीं, कांहीं दिल्लीची फौज मदतीस यावी व दक्षणी फौज यावी. त्यास दिल्लीस फौजां विसी पादशाहांस अर्जी जाहली. त्यांणी खान दौरास व कमदीं खान यांस पादशाहांनीं फर्माविले कीं तुम्हीं कोठे जणार? आह्मीं निघों तेव्हां तुह्मीं समागमें असावें. त्याज वरून ते येतां दिसत नाहींत आतां मोठा भरंवसा दक्षणी फौजेचा आहे. प्रति दिनीं पांच सांत जोडया रवाना होतात. कदाचित तव कल करून फौज नबाबांस सामिल व्हावयास येईल. त्याला आपा या समयीं जरी तिकडील तिकडे फौजेस तुमचा शह बसोन आटकली तरी हे फौज बुडवावयास असामान्य दुसरा येणार नाहीं. आह्मां जवळ आहे फौज इतक्या निशींच नबाबास जेर करून विल्हे लाविते. ते फौज येऊन सामिल झाली तरी नबाब जराभारी होतील. जाजती श्रम करणें लागतील. याज करितां फौजांस अटकाव होय तें करणें. या समयीं तुह्मांस जे फौज मिळेल [ते] जमा करून भारी राहणें. दाभाडे बांडे आह्मांकडे आले नसले तरी तुह्मी आपणा जवळ बोलावून सामिल करणें. राजश्री स्वामी जवळ जो जमाव आपला आहे तो आपणां जवळ आणणें. चिरंजीव राजश्री महादोबा यांस लिहून राजश्री स्वामीस विनंती करून राजश्री फतेसिंग बाबा व राजश्री शंभुसिंग जाधवराव व सरलष्कर व जाधव आणवणें. त्या खेरीज लोक मिळतील ते जमा करून तिकडील फौजांस शह देणें. ह्मणजे एकटे यांचे साहित्य दुसरा कोणी करणार नाहीं. नबाबाचा निर्वाह व्हावा या सायास दुसरा ऐसा येणें नाहीं. हे ठिकाणी लागल्यावर अवघी दक्षिण निर्बंध होईल. अवध्यांनी या समयीं या कामांत चित्त घालावें. आमचे फौजेचे उस्तवारीस अगर कर्ज पैरीवारास एक नबाब खेरीज दुसरी

जागा नाहीं. जे फौजसमागमें आहे इतक्यानिशीं रात्रं दिवस कस्त महेनत करणें तें नबाबाजवळ करीतच आहों. फळ होतां ईश्वराचे. राजश्री आबजी कवेड बरे समयास चांगले सामानानिशीं आले आहेत. राजश्री राणोजी भोंसले याज देशाकडे आल्याचें वर्तमान आहे. जरी ते आले तरी ते आमचे जाहले. न येती ते गोष्टीचाही मुजाका काय आहे. एक तों राजश्री स्वामीं जवळ मोहिमेस असावयाचें होते तें तों नाहीं. येव्हां या प्रसंगास तरी त्यांणीं यावें येथेही न येत तेव्हां सरंजाम मुलुख खाऊन अप्रयोजक होतील. तुह्मांस तो यत्न होईल तो करून तिकडील फौजेस पायबंद देणें. शहाजापुरचा मोंगल दीड हजार राजश्री मल्हारबा व राणबा व यशवंतराव पवार यांनीं बुडविला हे वर्तमान पूर्वी तुह्मांस पत्रीं लिहिले आहे त्यावरून कळलेंच असेल. राणोजी भोंसले आह्मांकडे आले तरी बरें. नाहींतर तुम्हीं त्यांस गांठणें. ते फौज तुमच्या कामाची आहे. वरचेवर कागद पत्र पाठविणें. आणि आपणांस सामिल करणें. अगर तुम्हीं गांठणें. जे गोष्टीनें ते फौजेस अटकाव होय ते करणें. वडीलांचे पुण्य व खावंदाचें आहे तरी त्यास घेतच आहों. लोभ असों दिजे हे आशिर्वाद.

श्री.

श्रीयासह चिरंजीव राजश्री आपा यांसी:—

बाजीराव बल्लाळ आशिर्वाद उपरी येथील कुशल ता. छ. रविवार ८-१-१७१८) २७ रमजानें जाणून आपणा कडील कुशल लिहित जाणें. या नंतर तुमचीं पत्रें छ. ८ रमजानची वरणगांवचे मुकामची विश्रामा बरोबरी आलीं व दुसरीं पत्रें छ. ११ रमजानचीं आलीं तीं छ. २४ रमजानीं पावलीं. लेखनार्थ विस्तारे कळला. येथील वर्तमान काल लिहून पत्र पाठविलें आहे त्या वरून कळलेंच असेल. अलीकडील वर्तमान तर नबाब बुनगे कांहीं भुपाळांत व कांहीं इस्लाम पुरांत टाकून सलुखाची संदर्प लावून कोस दोन कोस चालतात. आमच्या फौजा चौतर्फा चालवून दाणा गल्ला घांस लकडी बंद केली. एक रुपायास एक शेर अन्न जाहलें. तेंही कोणास प्राप्त कोणास अप्राप्त जाले. घोडी पळसाचा पाला खाऊं लागली. परवा छ. २५ रमजानी

मोंगल पठाणांनीं भाडयाचे बैल खाल्ले. रजपुतास तों केवळ उपास पडों लागले. ऐसा प्रसंग जाहला. तेव्हां नबाब सर्वांचे दुख पाहून बहुतच काहिला होऊन सलोखा विसी त्वरा केली. बोलाच्या प्रसंगास पहिलेंच अबदुल खेरखान व सयद लष्कर खान व अनवर अल्लाखान होते. सांप्रत आयामल्ल यांहीं सांगोन पाठविले कीं बोलाचालीच्या प्रसंगात आपणास बोलाविल्यास आमची अब्रू आहे व आम्हीं तुमचेच शुभ चिंतक असों. त्या वरून आयामल्ल यांसही पाठवून द्यावे म्हणवून नबाबास राजश्री आनंदराव पंडित सुमंत याज समागमें सांगोन पाठविलें. त्याज वरून नबाबानें आयामल्ल यांस भेटीस पाठविले. भेटी नंतर अयामल्ल यांस पहिले त्रीवर्ग यांस सांगोन बोलाचालीचा ठराव केला कीं। मालवा दरोबस्त द्यावा. पादशाही सनद दिल्लीस गेल्यावर करून द्यावी. द्रव्याची बोली पहिली राजश्री धोंडो गोविंद यांचे विद्यमानची आहे, त्याची रजबदल करून जें साधेल तें करून द्यावें. नर्मदेव चमेंल मध्यें राजे आहेत त्यांज पासून आह्मीं पैके घेतों तैसा कमबेस (कमीजास्ती) घेणें तो ध्यावा. राजे यांस निरोप देऊन नबाबांनीं दिल्लीस जावे. कोणें विसी तफावत न करावी. जे गोष्टीनें आमचे बरे होईल ते करावे. या गोष्टीनें मजकुरात द्यावे तैसी सिवत जाला. काल छ. २६ रमजानीं सदर्हु प्रमाणें करार करून नबाबांनीं माळवा दरोबस्त जाहगिर सुभेदारीचे यादीवर दस्कत करून दिलें. व द्रव्यही साधेल ते पादशाहा पासून करून देऊं ऐसें खास दस्तका निशीं लिहोन दिलें. राजश्री पिलाजी जाधवराव व राजश्री बाबूराव मल्हार नबाबाचे दर्शनास पाठवून दस्तकखत निशीं याद करून दिली. यावर तमाम लष्करास व घाणी यांस ताकीद करून इरसाल पोहोचवून दिल्हा. अत:पर नबाब आपले बुंणगे बाहेर दक्षिणेस रवाना करून दिल्लीस जातील. साराश नबाबास अडचणीचा प्रसंग प्राप्त झाला म्हणवून आपण हावभरी होऊन बुडवायाच्या सायासास लागावें तर नबाबाची फौज तोफखाना व बंदोबस्त पाहतां अवघाच ध्यानांत आला. रोहिले, बुंदेले व रजवाडे व सवाईची फौज व खेची व नरवर आदि करून खासा नबाब देखील तिस पसतीस हजार, या खेरिज तोफखाना, तोही कोणे प्रकारचा हे तुह्मी जाणतच आहां. सभोंवता आराबा चालून तमाम फौजेनिशीं तोफखान्याचे पाठीं चालावें तर राऊत अगर पायीचे माणूस निघावया गरज नाहीं. बंदोबस्तीनें चालत उठावें तर घोडे माणूस बहुत

खर्च होऊं लागलें. धावयाविणे तग करून बुडवावें तर मोंगल लोक मागें सरखाणार! जुंजतां दिसगत लागल्यास चार दिवस निघून जातील. हा अर्थ व तुम्हीं किती एक विचार लिहिला तो चित्तांत आणुन सौरस्याचा प्रसंग संपा दिला. जो नबाब चौथाई व सरदेशमुखीची नांवें घेत नव्हता त्यांणी मळदे दरोबस्त ऐसें खास दस्तकाने लिहून व लिहितां उच्चार केला कीं, "या मागें कधीच गोष्ट न जाहली ते या प्रसंगी जाहली" व नबाबांनी हे गोष्टी मान्य करणें दुरापस्त. पुत्राचे नांवें सुभेदारी करून समागमें आणिलें त्या माळव्याचा दरोबस्त सनद करून देतों. नबाबाच्या चित्तांत कल्पांत आला परंतु काय करील? संकटाचा प्रसंग देखोन द्यावें लागलें. जे राजेरजवाडीयाचे आपले बरे इच्छू कश्यप धरून होता ते त्यासें हातचे सोडावे लागलें हे दुःख लहान सामान्य न जाहलें. आपा, राजश्री स्वामींचें तपोबळ, वाडिलांचे पुण्य समर्थ तरीच ही गोष्ट घडोन (आली) अन्यथा होणे कळलेंच आहें. आज पादशाहींत नबाब सरिखा अमीर दुसरा कोण आहे. नबाब अतःपर दिल्लीस जातील व समागमें कोणी द्यावयाचा तो देऊन नबाब दिल्लीस गेलीयावरी या प्रांताचा व राजवाडीयांचा बंदोबस्त कर्तव्य तैसा करून होईल वर्तमान ते लिहून पाठवूं. कांहीं द्रव्य नबाबा जवळ मागावें ही इच्छा होती, परंत नबाब द्रव्याचा लोभी. पूर्वी याची साहित्य केली ते समयीं मनवाठवून द्रव्य देववलें नाहीं ते हल्ली पदरचे देतील हे गोष्टी तशा सारखी. दिल्लीस गेल्यावर सार्वभौमा पासून प्राप्त झाल्यास चुकणार नाहीं. करार झाला यांत अंतर न करावें ऐसा मनरोटी नबाबांनीं दिली. अतःपर नबाब खता करतील? कदाचित काळकम (काळक्रमें) दुर्बुद्धि निर्माण झालीतर केलें पावतील. श्री त्यास जय देणार नाहीं. लोभ असो दीजे हे आशिर्वाद.

श्री.

श्रीमंत परमहंस महाराज श्री स्वामींचे सेवेसीं:—

चरण रज बाजीराव बल्लाळ प्रधान कृतानेक विज्ञापना येथील कुशल महाराजांचे आशिर्वादें पौष वद्य १४ पावेतों मुक्काम भुपाळ येथें यथास्थित असें विशेष. फौज सहित या प्रांतीं आलों. नबाबाचा व आमचा मुकाबला

व्हावा तों नबाब भुपाळच्या आश्रयास गेले. छ. ३ रमजानीं एक युद्ध जाहलें दुसरें कालही युध्द नबाबाचे व लोकांचे जाहलें बराच तमाशा नबाबांनीं पाहिला. महाराजांचें प्रतातें मोचें जवळ नबाबावरील सलाबत बरीसी चढली. नबाब भुपाळच्या आश्रयास तीस चाळीस हजार फौजनशीं बसले आमचे मोचें हात थोंबियावरी बसले आहेत करोलांचामार देत आहे. मोंगलांचा अर्गानर्गा केला आहे. दाणा, गल्ला, वैरण, काडी कुल बंद झाली आहे. बंगसाचीच गत यास झाली आहे. स्वामींचें आशिर्वादें निजाम-उल्मुलक या ठिकाणीं बुडत आहे. अगर सलोख झाला तरी आमचा होईल. नबाब किल्लेबंद झाले याजमुळें त्यांची अब्रू राहीली नाहीं. आपला आशिर्वाद समर्थ आहे. सर्व आशिरवाद महाराजांचा आहे. सेवेसी श्रुत होय हे विज्ञापना.

APPENDIX. NO. 6.

श्रीमंत महाराज श्रीपरमहंस बाबा स्वामींचें सेवेसीः—

अपत्ये चिमाजीनें कृतानेक सा. नमस्कार विज्ञापना येथील कुशल ता. वैशाख[२] बहुल प्रतिपदापर्यंत मुकाम वसई स्वामींचे आशिर्वादें करून सुखरूप असों विशेष. स्वामींचे अभयावरून वसईस मोचें माघ शुद्ध दशमीस[३] लाविले. त्या दारभ्य मोचेंच लाविले व धम धमे चार पांच बांधले. सुरूंग चालविले. जे जे उपाय स्थळ हस्तगत करावयाचे ते केले. फिरंगी यांणीं सुरूंगावर व धमधम्यावर गरनाळा टाकिल्या. सुरूंग विच्छिन्न केले. पनाळे लाऊन पाणी सोडिलें. आगीचे बोंडे जळके टाकून त्यांवर तेल, दारु, टाळ टाकून चार चार रोज डोंब राही सार्खा करी. बरबंदजी व तोफजी फिरंगीयाची निःसीम

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२ वैशाख बहुल प्रतिपदा—ता० १३ मे इ० स९, १७१९ रविवार मोडकांच्या चंत्रींत प्रतिपदेचा मुळींच क्षय दिसतो' ३ माघ शुद्ध दशमीः- ता० ७ जानेवारी इ० स० १७१९ बुधवार ह्या दिवशीं वसईस मोचें लाविले

म्हणावी तैसी. तथापी स्वामींचा आशिर्वाद उदंड हें सबल शस्त्र आम्हांजवळ, त्याचे प्रतापे इकडून तोफा लागू करून फिरंगीयाचा तोफा मना केल्या. सफेल सोडून लेश केली. वसई जागा बाका, बुलंद, सुरूंगाचा उपाय नाहीं. परंतु स्वामींच्या कृपा कटाक्षें सुरूंग चालवून दोहीं बाजूंनी खांबावरती तख्त पोसी, त्यावर दोन अडीच हात रेती टाकून, दहा सुरूंग नेऊन पोहोचवून, दोनशें पाथरवट लावून मोठे मोठे चिरे फोडून, सुरूंगाचे बुधलियास जागा करून, वैशाख शुद्ध पंचमीस[1] सकल सिद्धता करून, लोकांस बाजू वांटून देवून, नगारियाची इशारत करून, सुरूंन उडतांच सर्वांनीं येलगारास उठावें, बुरुजावर चढावें, शिड्या ठेउन चढावें, ऐसा करार करून, वैशाख शुद्ध षष्ठी[2] बुधवारी दोन घटिका दिवसास प्रातःकालचा समय येतांच सुरूंगास बत्त्या दिल्या. डावे बाजूचे सुरुंग कांहीं उडोन काहीं उडणें होते, तोंच लोकांनीं उतावळी करून कोटावर चालोन घेतले. तों दुसरें सुरुंग तेच बाजूनें उडालें. त्यांनीं लोक दडपले व जायां व ठार जाहले, तसेंच उजवें बाजूचें सुरुंग उडाले. एक दोन उडतांच बुरजास वाट जाहलीसी देखून लोक वरते चढले. तों दुसरे सुरुंग उडाले. त्यांणीं वरते लोक चढले होते ते उडून गेले. लोक कसकरले. हिरमोड होऊन काम थंड पडलें. फिरंगी यांणी सांभाळून होके व गरनाळा व रेजगिरीचा मार न भूतो न भविष्यति केला. त्याणें लश्करचे लोकांत व इशमांत अवसान राहिलें नव्हतें. उजवे बाजूचा मातबर सुरुंग राजश्री मल्हारजी होळकर याचकडील उडणें होता. त्याचा शोध करून पुन्हां त्यांत बुधले घालून रंजक दुरुस्त करून लोकांची निवड केली. आणि सुरुंग उडतांच खामखां निशाणें चडवावीं असा करार करून वैशाख शुद्ध सप्तमी गुरुवारी उजवे बाजूचा सुरुग उडविला, तेच समयीं लोक जाऊन बुरुज अर्धा उडाला त्याजवरी चढले. फिरंगी यांणीं सफेलीच्या आंतून मेढा घालून, पोती भरून, तोफा जोडून तयार होतांच तेथें फिरंगी बोलावून होके गरनाळाच्या दारुच्या फत्त्यास आग लावून मार केला, व रेजगिरीचा मार सीमेपरता केला. लोकांवरी अग्नीचा पर्जन्य करून भाजून काढिलें. तथापि स्वामीचें अभय आशीर्वादाचें वज्रकवच लोकांचें अंगी

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१ वैशाख शुद्ध पंचमीः-ता० १ मे इ० स० १७३९ मंगळवार.

होते, तेणेकरून अगीची तमा न धरितां लोकांनी हत्यार बरे वजेंन केले फिरंगी यांणीं मर्दुयी शिपाईगिरी म्हणावी तशी केली- त्याचप्रमाणें इकडील लोकांनी भारती युद्धाप्रमाणें युद्ध केलें. यामागें युद्धे बहूत जाहलीं, परंतु ह्या लढाईस जोडच नाहीं. तेव्हां सर्व स्वामीचा आशीर्वाद, लोक बुरुन सोडीनातसे जाहले तेव्हां स्वामींच्या दंड प्रहारे करुन फिरंगी धर्मद्वेष्टे बेहिंमत होऊन अष्टमीस प्रहर दिवसास कौलास आले. कौल घेतला. आठ दिवसांत कबिला मुद्धां झाडून जातोसे करार केलें. त्याजवरून मार महकूब केला. फिरंगी यांणीं कबिले तस्त भाव गलबतांत भरली. काल वैशाख शुद्ध पौर्णिमेस[3] फिरंगी झाडून गेला. स्वामींचे पुण्यें करून जागा फत्ते जाहली. लष्करचे व हशमाचे लोक सुरुंगांनी उडाले व नांया ठार अजमासे पांच हजार किंवहुना विशेष होतील. तैसेंच फिरंगी याचे सात आठसे माणूस ठार व या निराळे जखमी जाहले. भारती युद्धाप्रमाणें (युद्ध) जाहलें. वसई बाका जागा. पश्चिमेकडून दक्षिणेकडे खाडी. पूर्वेकडे खाजण चिखल तिहींकडून किमपी इलाज नाहीं. एके उत्तरेकडून उपाय, तिकडे ही रेती, घर नाहीं. स्वामी साक्षात् ईश्वराचा अंश. स्वामींनीं वसई "दिल्ही, दिल्ही" त्रिवार लिहिलें तें शुद्ध अन्यथा कसे होतील. वरकड वसईची गोष्ट मानवी लोकांनीं म्हणावी ऐसे नाहीं. वसई स्वामीचे आशिर्वादे फत्ते जाहली. श्रीचें सुदर्शन धर्मद्वेष्टे यांचे मस्तकी वज्रप्रहार होऊन टोपीकर म्लानत्व पावलें. अन्यथा वसई सही न होती. फिरंगी आगीचा पुतळा होता ! स्वामींचे कर्तृत्वास पार नाहीं. स्वामींची महिमा स्वामी जाणत. आम्हां मानवी लोकांस काय कळे ! वसई फत्ते होतांच सवासे पुतळ्या पाठवून देणे व श्रीभुलेश्वरास सवासे रुपयांचा मुगूट घातला म्हणून आज्ञा केली, याजवरून स्वामींचे आज्ञे प्रमाणें वसई फत्ते होतांच श्रीनिवास केदार याजबरोबर पुतळ्या सवासे ब

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२ वैशाख शुद्ध षष्ठीः-ता० २ मे इ० स० १७३९ बुधवार-

१ वैशाख शुद्ध सप्तमीः—ता० ३ मे इ० स० १७३९ गुरुवार (२) अष्टमीः-ता० ४ मे इ० स० १७३९ शुक्रवार.

३ वैशाख शुद्ध पौर्णिमाः-ता० १२ मे इ० स० १७३९ शनिवार-

श्री भुलोबास मुगूट सवासे रुपयांचा घातला ते रुपये १२५ सवासें स्वामींचे सेवेसी पाठविले आहेत. प्रविष्ट होतील. आम्ही लेकरें स्वामीचीं असो. सर्व प्रकारें कृपा करणार स्वामी समर्थ आहेत. स्वामींचे चरणाव्यतिरिक्त दुसरें दैवत आम्हास काय आहे ! (खास दस्तुर) सारांश स्वामींचा आशिर्वादें व दंडाच्या प्रतापे कार्य सिद्धी तें पावलें असे स्वामींचा महिमा आम्ही वर्णावयास सामर्थ्य धरीत नाहीं. श्रीनिवास केदार पुतळया व रुपये देऊन रवाना केले आहेत. लौकरच पावतील. वर्तमान त्वरेने विदित व्हावें यास्तव हें पत्र पुढें रवाना केलें असे. सेवेसी श्रुत होय हे विज्ञापना❀

APPENDIX No. VII.

भरतपुर का अहिल्योत्सव.

हमारे बहुतेक इतिहासज्ञ पाठक जानते हैं कि भरतपुर राज्यान्तर्गत डीगके निकट कुंभेर की लढाई में देवी श्री अहिल्याबाई के पूज्य पति वीर शिरोमणी श्री खंडेराव होलकर युद्ध करते हुऐ वीरगति को प्राप्त हुए थे। उस स्थानपर उनकी छत्री अभी भी विद्यमान है। इसलिये उक्त स्थान पर भी पुण्यतिथि का उत्सव मनाया जाय, इस उद्देश से प्रेरित होकर कार्यकारी

❀ हीं शेवटची वाक्यें खुद चिमाजी आपांचा हातचीं आहेत. ह्या पत्रांत वसईचा लढाईचें साद्यंत वर्णन दिलें आहे. तें अगदीं निष्पक्षपातपणांचें असल्यामुळें त्याचा व पोर्तुगीज लोकांनीं लिहिलेल्या वर्णनाचा उत्तम मेळ पडतो. ह्या युद्धांत पोर्तुगीज सेनापति Silveira de Menezes हा मृत्यु पावला. व पोर्तुगीज लोकांचे ८०० लोक पडले. त्यांचा पूर्ण पराभव झाल्यानंतर Captain de Sauza Pereira ह्या पोर्तुगीज अधिकाऱ्याने चिमाजी आपांस कौल देऊन वसई सोडून दिली. ह्या वेळीं मराठ्यांनीं पोर्तुगीज लोकांशीं फारच थोरपणाचें वर्तन केले. ह्या युद्धाची साद्यंत हकीकत स्वामींचा चरित्रांत दिली आहे—Parasnis life of Brahmendra Swami Pages 77-80

मंडल ने श्रीमान् ब्रजेन्द्र महाराज साहेब भरतपुर से पत्र नंबर ५९७ ता. १२-८-२८ ई. के द्वारा प्रार्थना की थी। इसके पूर्व गत् 'भरतपूर हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन' के अवसर पर श्री अहिल्योत्सव कमेटी इन्दौर के सम्माननीय सदस्य श्री. त्रिंबकरावजी गोगटे स्वयं महाराजा साहेब भरतपुर से मिले थे और इस विषय में बातचीत भी की थी। फल यह हुआ कि भरतपुर दरबार ने अपनी असीम कृपा दिखलाते हुऐ ता. २५-८-२७ ई. को श्री. खंडेराव होलकर की छत्री पर बडे समारोह के साथ उत्सव मनाया। इस उत्सव का वर्णन भरतपुर नगर से निकलनेवाले 'भारत वीर' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्र के ३९ वें अंक में निम्न भाँति से अंकित है—

भरतपुर-अहिल्योत्सव.

छत्री, खंडेराव होलकर ता. २६-८-२७ ई.

"गत् ता. २५-८-२७ को प्रातःस्मरणीया श्री. अहिल्याबाई होलकर की पुण्यतिथि थी। देवी अहिल्याबाई के पतिदेव श्री खंडेराव होलकर का स्वर्गवास भरतपुर शहर के करीब १४ मील के हुआ था। भरतपुर राज्य की ओरं से वहाँ उनकी छत्री बनी हुई है और पूजा-सेवा का प्रबंध भी राज्य की ओर से होता है। इसके लिये भरतपुर राज्य से ५।) रु. और इन्दौर राज्य से ॥) रोज नियत हैं। अहिल्योत्सव कमेटी (इन्दौर) की प्रार्थना पर तारीख २५-८-२७ ई. को छत्री पर उत्सव मनाया गया। सैकडों स्त्री-पुरुष मीलों पैदल चलकर वहाँ पहुंचे थे। राजकीय पंडितों ने विधिपूर्वक पूजा कराई। श्री १०८ ब्रजेन्द्र महाराज भी अपने सरदारों के साथ पधारे। स्टेट बॅण्डने गगनभेदी स्वर से सलामी दी। पूजादि हो चुकने पर महामान्य राजपंडित श्री. बुलाकीराम शास्त्री विद्यासागर ने श्रीमती अहिल्याबाई के गुणोंका वर्णन करते हुए इस उत्सव की विशेषता बतलाई। इस प्रकार बडे आनंदके साथ जय २ घोष पूर्वक उत्सव संपन्न हुआ।

यह छत्री कुंभेर से कोई ४ मील आगे डीग जानेवाली सडक की दाहिनी और लगभग एक मील की दूरी पर जंगल में बनी हुई है। १५० वर्ष इस छत्रीको बने बताये जाते हैं। इमारत पुरानी होनेपर भी दर्शनीय

है। उस दिन श्रीमान् ने आज्ञा दी है कि इसके मकान दुरुस्त और मुकम्मिल कराये जाकर सेवा-पूजा का प्रबंध ठीक रखा जाय। स्थान बडाही रमणीय और एकान्तवास के योग्य है।"

यह स्थान पर हम यह उल्लेख कर देना आवश्यक समझते है कि श्री अहिल्योत्सव कमेटी इन्दोर की प्रार्थना को श्री. महाराजासाहिब भरतपुर ने स्वीकार कर जो उदारता बतलाई है, उसके लिये श्री अहिल्योत्सव कमेटी अपने पत्र नं. १३०२ ता. १-११-२७ ई. के द्वारा श्रीमान् की सेवा में कृतज्ञता प्रकट कर चुकी है, तत्रापि यहां भी धन्यवाद अर्पण करती है। साथमें यह उल्लेख कर देना आवश्यक है कि इस महत्वपूर्ण कार्य को पूर्ण कराने का श्रेय श्री. विंचकरावजी गोगटे साहब को है, क्योंकि उन्होंने पहिले से ही श्री. भरतपुर नरेश से इस विषय में प्रार्थना करते हुए इस उत्सव का राष्ट्रीय उद्देश निवेदन कर दिया था।

सभापति की योजना

इस वर्ष 'श्री अहिल्योत्सव' के सभापति पदपर एतमादुद्दौला श्री एस. एम. बापना, बी. ए. बी. एस. सी., एल. एल. बी., रायबहादुर प्राइम मिनिस्टर महोदय की योजना उपयुक्त समझ, इस विषय में उनकी सेवा में प्रार्थना करने के लिये, श्री अहिल्योत्सव कमेटी के सभापति श्रीमंत सरदार, राव बहादुर माधवराव विनायक किबे, श्री. सरदार शंकररावजी चांगण उपसभापति और श्री. एच. सी. शर्मा मंत्री श्री. अ. क. का डेप्युटेशन उपस्थित हुआ। बडे हर्ष की बात है कि श्रीमान् को अनेक आवश्यकीय कार्य होने पर भी आपने डेप्युटेशन की प्रार्थना स्वीकार की। एतदर्थ अहिल्योत्सव कमेटी श्रीमान् के प्रति नम्र एवं सादर कृतज्ञता प्रकट करती है।

APPENDIX NO. VIII.

Panipat.

The story of the last battle of Panipat has often been told. The splendour of the Maratha power gives its defeat

by the Afghan Durani king not only historical significance but a glamour of tragedy which lifts it high out of any dull chronological sequence into a more vivid air of perennial wonder. Grant Duff tells of the magnificence of the Maratha army, the "lofty and spacious tents, lined with silks and broadcloths .....vast numbers of elephants, flags of all descriptions, the finest horses, magnificently caparisoned .....cloth of gold was the dress of the officers, and all seemed to vie in a profuse and gorgeous display;" and the tale of the crushing defeat of that huge army has been told by many. Among its first historians was an eye-witness, Kasi Rai, a Deccani secretary in the service of Suja-ud-daula, Vazir of Oudh. His account of the battle was translated by Lt.-Col. Browne, Resident at Delhi from 1782 to 1785, for Asiatic Researches. From those hidden and almost forgotton pages it has newly been recovered by Mr. H. G. Rawlinson of the Indian Educational Service, to be published afresh by the Oxford University Press. Kasi Rai was a good war correspondent, with an eye for colour and a nose for detail, and his story of Panipat is a clear and lively description of the fiercely fought battle, the campaigning immediately previous to it, and the terrible slaughter which followed.

The defeat, it is clear, was due not to the Bhao Saheb so much as to the Peshwa, who having married a new wife wasted valuable time in idle pleasures at Paithan, while the Bhao Saheb and his army—and, it must be added, an enormous troop of wives, camp-followers, and other unwanted enemies to a restricted commissariat were brought near to starvation in Panipat. The fatal sortie was dictated by necessity, not by the Bhao Saheb's strategy; but even then, though they and their horses were weakened by

confinement, the main body of Maratha cavalry nearly won the day by the shock of their irresistible charge, and had not the wisdom of the Abdali kept ten thousand horsemen in reserve until the crucial moment of the battle, the victory would probably have fallen the other way. Yet the preliminary skirmishing had shown the Afghans to be slightly superior, and their aptitude for swift, punishing raids was as great as that of the Marathas, despite the latter's fame in guerilla warfare. The slaughter was prodigious; Kasi Rai says "There were said to be five hundred thousand souls in the Maratha camp, of whom the greatest part were killed or taken prisoners," and the plunder was on the same gigantic scale. Apart from the attractions of a lucid and vigorous style Kasi Rai's narrative is lightened by some admirable personal touches. One likes to be told for instance, of the Bhao Saheb's gallantry, and even more of the Abdali smoking his hookah in the morning while he watched the Marathas assembling on the field. These human details keep history alive."–The Times of India.

APPENDIX No. IX.

The following letter from the Hon'ble Mr. C. A. Kincaid, Historian of the Marathas, deserves to be read with interest in connection with the battle of Panipat of 1761;—

Ridge Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
17-12-1921.

My dear Mr. Burway,

I have to thank you for your excellent book, "The Marathas and the Moguls". I read it with the greatest

interest and shall always value it both on account of its intrinsic merits and also because of the giver.

I am inclined to think that Panipat was a greater disaster than you do. One should, I think, consider not of what the Marathas did after Panipat, but what they would have done if they had been victorious. They certainly showed a marvellous elasticity and a recuperative force equalled only in history of the French after 1871 and the Athenians after the defeat and capture of their army in Sicily. But had the Marathas won the Peshwa or his son would have been proclaimed Emperor and the whole peninsula would have been administered by them. There would have been no room for French or English.

With all kind regards and renewed thanks,

Yours Sincerely,
Sd/ C. A. Kincaid.

P. S. I am waiting for the list of authorities whenever you have the time to prepare it.

APPENDIX No. X.

श्री.

ता. ११ दिजंबर शके १६८९
मार्गशीर्ष वा ६ शुक्रवार सन १७६७

राजश्री—अहिल्याबाई होळकर गो यांस.

छ. अखंडीत लक्ष्मी आलंकृत राजमान्य स्नेा. माधवराव बल्लाळ पेशवा पंतप्रधान अनेक आशीरवाद सुा समान सितेनमया व आलफ ती. राघोबा

दादा पेशवा फौजेची तयारी करून नजराणा घेण्या करितां किल्ले महेश्वरास येत आहे ह्मणोन समजले. त्यास विनंती आहे कीं, माझे सासरे मल्हारराव होळकर यांणी येक निष्ठपणें धन्याची सेवा करून सर्व आयुष्य मुलुख सर करण्यांत घालविले. माझा नवरा खंडेराव होळकर यांणीही सरकार कामगिरींत देह सोडला. चिरंजीव मालेराव होळकर मृत्यु पावले. मी खासगी व दौलत असे दोन्ही अधिकार आज पावेतों चालऊन होळकराचे नांव कायम ठेविले असोन तुकोजी होळकर सरकार चाकरीचे उपयोगी समजून वस्त्रे नावे यावी ह्मणोन विनंती करितां दादासाहेब पेशवे नजराण्याचें निमित्यानें नाशास प्रवृत्त होऊन येत आहे ह्मणोन आल्यावरून लिहिण्यांत येते कीं महेश्वर वगैरे ही जागा खासगीची होळकराचे कुटुंबास इनाम जाहागीर दिल्ही गेली असल्यानें तुमचे पूर्ण हक्क आहे ह्मणोन ती दादासाहेबांस निक्षून ताकीद जाहली आहे व तुकोजी होळकर यांचे नांवे सनद व कर्डे तयार होऊन येत आहे. आतां काडीमात्राचा आंदेशा न धरितां सुरळीतपणें चालत आल्याप्रमाणें चालविले जाईल जाणीजे. चंद्र १९ माहे रजब बहुत काय लिहिणे (लेखण सीमा)

APPENDIX No. XI.

We conclude the Panipat affair by publishing an important letter of Sadashiv Rao Bhow which Mr. Vinayak Lakshman Bhave of Thana, first published in the Kesari. It will throw powerful light on some of the disputed points:-

दिल्लीहून सदाशिवरावभाऊंचें पत्र केसरीकर्ते यांस-

वि. वि. पानिपतच्या मोहिमेसंबंधानें गो. स. सरदेसाई यांनीं नुकत्याच प्रसिद्ध केलेल्या सुंदर पुस्तकांत जीं अनुमानें काढलीं आहेत, त्या संबंधांत दिल्लीहून खुद्द श्रीमंत सदाशिवरावभाऊ यांनीं ता. १६ सप्टेंबर १७६० रोजीं लिहिलेल्या एका अस्सल पत्राची नक्कल आपणाकडे पाठवीत आहे या पत्रा-

वरून अनेक प्रचलित कुतर्कांचें निरसन होत असल्यामुळें इतिहासभक्तांस तें वाचनीय होईल असा अजमास आहे.

अबदालीशीं चाललेल्या तहाच्या वाटाघाटींत उभयपक्षीं काय अटी होत्या हें मीटसें कोठेंहि कोणी छापल्याचें माहीत नाहीं. या वेळीं श्रीमंत सदाशिवराव भाऊ दुराग्रह धरून बसले होते कीं, ते तडजोडीच्या भावनेनें वागत होते ? तसेंच शिंदे होळकरांशीं त्यांचें पटत नव्हतें कीं काय ? दिल्लीस असतां आपल्या सैन्याची स्थिति कशी होती ! वगैरे महत्वाच्या अनेक मुद्यांचा या पत्रावरून निर्णयकारक खुलासा होईल यांत संशय नाहीं. तसेंच या मोहिमेपूर्वीपासूनच श्रीमंत नानासाहेब पेशव्यांची प्रकृति नादुरुस्त असून क्षीण होत चालली होती, व या अशा प्रकृतीमुळेंच बहुधा खुद्द नानासाहेब स्वत: या मोहिमेस प्रथमपासून गेले नसावे असें दिसतें. या सर्व बाबींचा विचार या पत्रावरून तज्ज्ञ करतीलच. प्रतिकृतीसह अस्सल पत्र सरदेसाई यांजकडे पाठविले असून इतर महाराष्ट्र वाचकांचे माहितीसाठीं आपण हें येते अंकीं प्रसिद्ध करण्याची कृपा करावी.

खंडाळा व्हॅली व्हयू,
फा. वा. ४ श. १८४४

आपला,
वि. ल. भावे.

श्री.

चिरंजीव राजश्री धोंडो मल्हार यांसी सदाशिव चिमणाजी आशीर्वाद उपरी येथील कुशल जाणून स्वकीय कुशल लिहीत जाणें विशेष. तुमचे पत्र आलें तें पावोन लिहिले वर्तमान सविस्तर कळलें. असेंच निरंतर साकल्य पत्रीं लिहीत जाणें. इकडील वर्तमान तरी, फौज सरदार मुद्दां दिल्लीस आलों. किल्ला घेऊन आंत सरकारचा बंदोबस्त केला. सुज्यातदौले व नजीबखान वगैरे रोहिले मुद्दां अब्दाली यमुनेपलीकडे येऊन मुक्काम करून राहिले आहेत. नदीस पाणी फार. सुज्यातदौला नजीबखान यांचे विचारें सलुखाचा पैगाम लागला. त्यांचें मतें सरहिंदेची हद्द अब्दालीची करून द्यावी; पातशाही बंदोबस्त आपले हवाला करावा; वजिरी सुज्यातदौले मागतात; बक्षीगिरि नजीबखान मागतो. नदीमुळें उभयतां सैन्यांचा मुकाबला होत नाहीं. तो

पैगामही आहे. आमचे मतें अटकची हद्द, पातशाही बंदोबस्त सर्वांचे पूर्वमत प्रमाणें राखून चालवावें. यापप्रमाणें सलुखाचें करावें. त्यांत कांहीं आमचें जाहलिया शिवाय तह होत नाहीं बोलणें चालतां होईल तें पाहों. केवळ आमच्याच चित्तानरूप घडणें, अगर त्यांचे चित्तानरूप होणें हें कसें होईल ? यास्तव जसें बनेल तसें करावें लागले. होईल तें लेहून पाठवूं. नदी पायाब जाहलिया लढाई प्राप्त होईल (येथून पुढील अक्षर खुद्द खाशांचे आह) सरदार दोघेहि बहुत साफ आहेत. कारभारी यांस तो संतोषच आहे. सर्व पेच पोटाचा. बाहेरील कजियामुळें न मिळे[1]. कर्ज सावकारी बंद दोनहि फौजा ह्या हरदू सरदाराची फौज मोडलियामुळें त्यांची सलाबत आहे. यंदाचें येणें व बाहेरील मसलत भारीच आहे. सर्व आशीर्वादेंकरून परिणामास जाईल. लढाई न पडतां सर्व प्रेत्न आपरू राहून, होतील तें करूं. सेवटीं नेटानें सर्व येकत्र जमून लढाई करूं. ईश्वर बरेंच करील. आपलें वर्तमान शरिराचें वगैरे लिहिणें. तीर्थरूपांचें शरीर उत्तम जालें म्हणजे सर्व मनसबे उत्तम. येविशीं वर्तमान लिहीत जाणें. छ: ६ सफर बहुत काय लिहिणें हे आशीर्वाद.

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१ शिंदे होळकर, २ सरदारांचे, रामाजी अनंत व गंगाधर यशवंत, ३ मोडींतील कांहीं शब्द संदिग्ध वाटतात. ४ अब्दालीचा, ५ नानासाहेबांचे ६ तारीख १६ सेप्टेंबर १७६०.

APPENDIX No. XII.

Extracts from Bhow Sahib's Kaifiyat.

pp. 19-20.

"Provisions stopped coming from any quarter. Corn sold at a rupee per seer in the Maratha Camp. This state of things continued for three days. The situation was reported to the Peshwa at Poona in letters which ran thus:—

'There is terrible scarcity of provisions in our Camp. Relief from outside has become impossible. Shall we therefore make peace and retire (on whatever terms we can obtain) ? The Abdali proposes that we should retire to the banks of the Chambal and levy tribute only on the territory beyond. Shall we accept these terms ? We will act upon yours orders'.

In reply the Peshwa wrote to say, 'Dada (i. e. Raghunathrao) will think it disgraceful to give up in abject fear all the territory up to Lahore which was subdued by him at such cost. You must not therefore accept the proposed terms. You must destroy the enemy finally, and hold all the territory up to the Indus. On no account should you make friends with Abdali. Do what you feel to be feasible. We are preparing to come to your aid rapidly. Do not entertain any apprehensions on this point.'

Upon receipt of this communication the Bhau Sahib gave up all idea of peace, and prepared to fight to the last. There upon Vishwas Rao wrote to his father (the Peshwa) without the knowledge of the Bhau Sahib, to say, 'we are in a precarious condition, and unable to extricate ourselves. You will surely get other sons like me, but not other brothers like Bhao Sahib. You must therefore come immediately to our relief. To this the Peshwa replied that he was coming in all haste and proceeded atonce to Paithan (Near Ahamadnagar), where he and Raghoba spent some time in collecting armies and making preparations"–Panipat by Professor Rawlinson, p. 63,

APPENDIX. XIII.

The following verses bear testimony to the status of the Lambhate family in days of old:—

लांभात्यांचे घराणें पूर्वी फार मोठें होते म्हणून सांगतात. सांप्रत ह्या घराण्याकडे जिरापूर माचलपूर महालीं कांही जमीन वंशपरंपरेनें जाहागीर आहे. थोरले तुकोजीराव होळकर गादीवर असतां हे घराणें चांगलें भरभराटींत असून त्यांतील पुरुषही मोठे गाजीमर्द होते असें पुढील रांगडी पद्यावरून दिसून येईल.

" ॥ परगड परगड घोरा दवडे ऊंट की लड साजे ॥
॥ जालमसिंहकी पाटणपर लंभात के गोळे गाजे ॥
॥ जद कोटा बुंदी ऊबा ऊबा धूजे ॥

A daughter of Malhar Rao named Santoobai was married in the family of Lambhate, Saranjami Sardar and Jagheerdar of Machalpur. Her name after the marriage was Ramabai Lambhate. This family enjoyed a Jagheer from the Peshwa and in Malhar Rao's time the Jagheer income of this family amounted to about 41,800 Rs. per annum. Colonel Hanumantrao Lambhate gave me these details from his family papers.

APPENDIX No XIV.

We have already referred in Chapter XVII to the struggle between Malhar Rao Holkar and the English in 1765. We reproduce here Mr. K. W. Purandare's article in the Bharat-Itihas-Sansodhak Mandal Quarterly (Vol. 9., No. 2, 1929). We think that Mr. Sardesai's observations are, in

the absence of evidence, certainly groundless, as pointed out rightly by Mr. Purandare in the following article:—

होळकर—इंग्रजांची झटापट (१७६५)

(के.—कृष्णाजी वासुदेव पुरंदरे, पूर)

सोबतचे पत्र कोल्हितकर अभ्यांकडे चार पांच वर्षांपूर्वी मिळालें. पत्र महत्वाचें वाटल्यावरून त्याच वेळीं एक टिपण या पत्राधारें मं. च्या पाक्षिक सभेंत वाचलें. त्यावेळीं या पत्राचा जसा उलगडा व्हावयास पाहिजे तसा मला झाला नाहीं. पण आतां श्री. गोविंदराव सरदेसाई यांचा मराठी रियासत मध्य-विभाग ४ था प्रसिद्ध झाल्यामुळें पत्राची संगती बरोबर लाविता येते. या भागाच्या पृ. १९५ पासून ' इंग्रजाकडून मल्हारराव होळकरांचा पराभव व मृत्यु ' हें प्रकरण सुरूं होतें. मल्हारराव्यानें इंग्रजाविरुद्ध सुजाउदौलास मदत केली असतां सन १७६५ च्या मे च्या २२ व्या तारखेस इंग्रजांकडील मेजर फ्लेचर याने कालपीस मल्हाररावाचा पराभव केला. तसेंच तत्पूर्वी ६-५-१७६५ रोजीं कुराच्या मैदानांत इंग्रज मुसलमानांचा चुरशीचा सामना पाहून इंग्रजांच्या तोंफखान्यापुढें मल्हाररावाची गाळण उडाली आणि या पराभवामुळें मल्हारराव खंगून लवकरच मरण पावला, अशी मल्हाररावाच्या जन्मभर मिळविलेल्या कीर्तीस कमापणा आणणारी दुःखद हकीकत तेथें याचावयास मिळते. पण हें पत्र पाहून सदर हकीकत अगदींच एकतर्फी भासते. इतकेंच नव्हे तर या वेळीं मल्हाररावाच्या कीर्तीवर हा जो काळाकुट्ट डाग पाडला गेला तो सर्वस्वी खोटा आहे असें हें पत्र बजावीत आहे. पत्र मोहीम संपवून छावणीला जात असतां होळकरांच्या लष्करांतून बहिरो अनंताच्या एका हस्तकानें श्रीमंत नाना [पुरंदऱ्या ?) स आषाढ शु॥ ९ स लिहिलें लेखकानें सर्व प्रकार अवलोकन करून पत्र लिहिलें असल्यानें त्याच्या सत्यतेबद्दल मुळींच शंका राहत नाहीं. लेखक म्हणतो—

१ नजीबखान व जाट यांचा सलाह करून देऊन होळकर अनूप शहरास आले असतां सुजाउदौलानें मिनतवारीनें भेट घेऊन आप-

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१ पा स. $\frac{१४}{४९}$ २ $\frac{१३}{६६}$ पा. स. वाचला.

पास इंग्रजांशी लढण्याकरितां साइता करावी अशी मागणी केली.

२ सुभेदारांनीं रोहिले पठाणांचें पारिपत्य करण्याचा विचार चार दिवस तहकूब करून सुजाचें म्हणणें कबूल केलें.

३ इतक्यांत कुरास नजीबखान चार हजार फौजेनसी असतां त्यावर इंग्रजानें हल्ला करून त्याचा पराभव केला आणि फिरंग्याचें सैन्य मराठ्यांवर चालून आलें.

४ पण मराठ्यांनीं त्यासी ' जुझ मातभर ' देऊन ' पाचसे घोडे तीन तोफा चाळीस पनास उंट, पाडाव केलीं. इंग्रज दम धरून मुका मास गेला असतां मराठ्यांनीं त्यास ' घरा घालून ' कोंडलें.

५ इतक्यांत रोहिले पठाण एक होऊन (इंग्रजांच्या !) बुणग्यावर आले असतां मराठे चालून जाऊन बुनगे कालपीस उतरून

६ इंग्रजावर फौज देऊन ' राजश्री तात्यास (बहिरो अनंत का विंचूरकर !) रवाना केलें. त्यानें लढाई देऊन ' तमाम बुडविला हजार (बाराशें) घोडे व चारसे उंट फिरंगी दोन पलटणें व बाणाच्या कैच्या व वीस पंचवीस निशाणें' पाडाव करून आणिलीं

७ मराठे गांवाचा (कोणत्या !) आश्रये घरून राहिले. परंतु चार सहा कोस पावेतों फौजा राहेत यैसे पाणी नवते यामुळें उलटोन कालपीस आले आणि नाकेबंदी केली मग इंग्रजांनीं चार पाच नावा मेलऊन रातवा धरून कालपीवर हल्ला केला. मराठ्यांचा मोर्चा तोफखाले उधळला. चार पाच गटका मोठी युद्ध झालें भारी तोफखान्यापुढें मराठ्यांच्या घोडेस्वाराचें कांहीं चालेना तेव्हां तोंडावर तोफखाना देऊन गनिमीकाव्यानें इंग्रजाला जेर करण्याचें मराठ्यांनीं ठरविलें.

८ इंग्रजांनीं कालपीस ठाणें दिलें होतें तें उलटोन मराठ्यांनीं काढून देऊन आपलें ठाणें बसविलें.

२ इंग्रज कालपीच्या पुढें न आल्यामुळें कालपीचा व उमरगडचा बंदोबस्त करून मराठे पावसाळा सुरूं झाल्यामुळें छावणीकरितां ग्वाल्हेर प्रांते चालले.

अशी ही मराठ्यांतर्फेची या पत्रानें हकीकत जाहीर होत आहे. कालपीस मराठ्यांस हार खावी लागली तरी ती दाखविली तेवढी भेसूर वाटत नाहीं. मराठ्यांनीं लगेच गनिमीकावा लढवून इंग्रजाकडून कालपी परत घेतली. इंग्रज कालपीपुढें न आल्यामुळें पावसाळ्याकरितां होळकर ग्वाल्हेर प्रांताकडे गेले. कांहीं इलाज चालत नाहींसें पाहून मल्हारराव्यानें आपल्या फौजेसह असा कांहीं पोबारा केला, कीं ग्वाल्हेर गांठीपर्यंत त्यानें एकदां सुद्धां मागें वळून पाहिलें नाहीं (म. वि. भा. ४ पृ. १९७). हें म्हणणें आतां यापुढें टिकणार नाहीं. स्वहस्तें इंग्रजाला मल्हारराव्यानें गनिमी काव्यानें जेर केलें असल्यानें 'इंग्रजांनीं त्याजवर (मल्हारराववर) मात केली. त्याचें अतोनात दुःख होऊन तो खंगला आणि त्यांतच त्यास मृत्यु आला' [म. रि. म. वि. ४ पृ. २०१]; असें अनुमान मल्हारराव्याच्या कीर्तीस निष्कारण काळिमा आणणारें ठरेल. कालपीच्या पुढें इंग्रज न आल्यामुळें कालपी घेऊन उमरगडचा बंदोबस्त करून पावसाळ्यामुळें होळकर आस्ते आस्ते ग्वाल्हेर प्रांते छावणीस गेले. मल्हारराव्यानें गनिमी कावा लढवून स्वतःच इंग्रजांना जेर करून तात्पुरता मिळविलेला कालपीचा जय त्यांना पचूं दिला नाहीं हें सिद्ध होत असल्यानें इंग्रजांनीं मल्हारराववर मात केली हें म्हणणें चुकीचें ठरतें. तेव्हां त्यापुढील 'तो खंगला आणि त्यांतच त्यास मृत्यू आला' ही कल्पना अगदींच खुळचट भासेल. इंग्रजांच्या नसत्या घमेंडखोरी लिहिण्यावर सर्वस्वी अवलंबून राहून घाई घाईनें प्रति भीष्माचार्य अशा आमच्या वीरशिरोरत्नावर चढ वलेला हल्ला रा. गोविंदरावांना आतां परत घ्यावा लागेल. सरळ हकीकत देण्यापेक्षां इतिहास संग्राहकांनीं वन्या वाईट टीका, भरमासट अनुमानें काढण्याचा मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासापुरता तरी घातकी उपद्व्याप करूं नये असें फार वाटतें कारण, मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाचें साहित्य हर घडी नवें नवें बाहेर येत आहे, पण हें त्यांच्या ध्यानीं केव्हां येईल कोण जाणें. पत्र असें:—

श्री आंबा प्रसन्न

पौ छ २१.....सीत

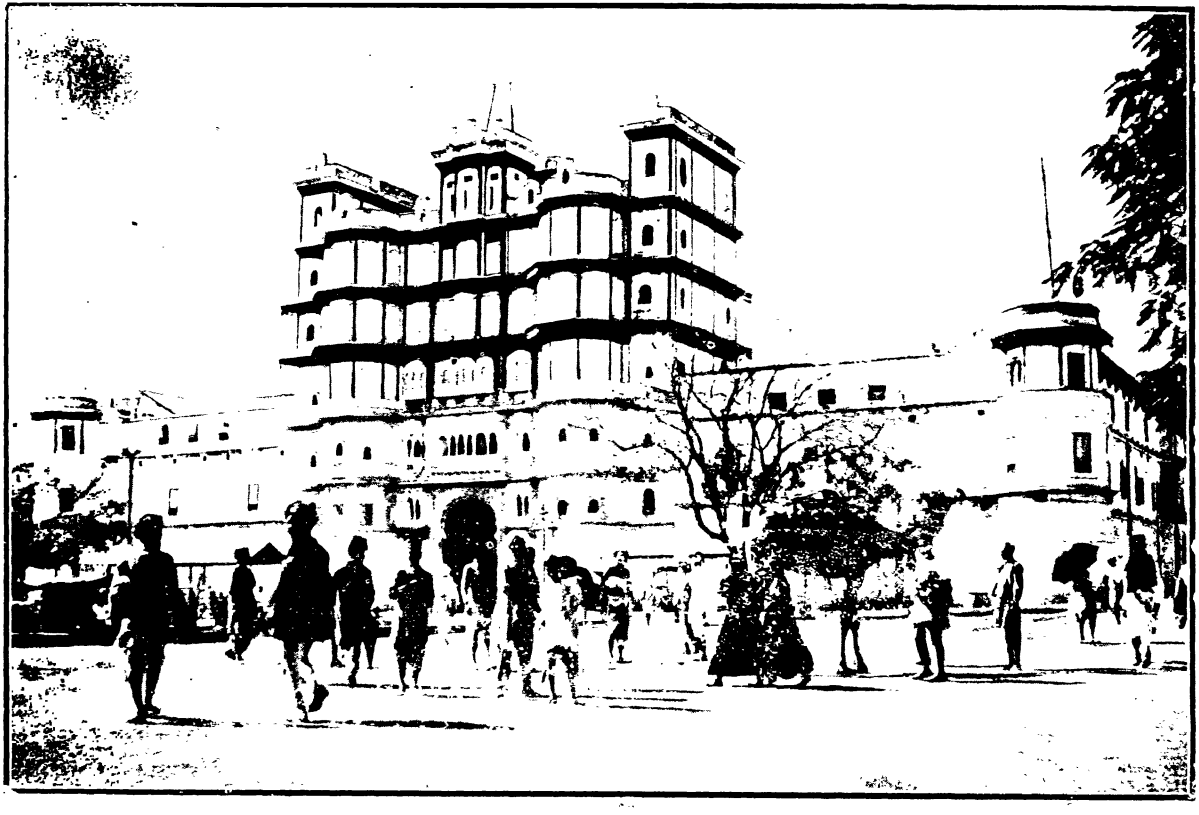
सितैन

श्रीमंत राजश्री नाना स्वामीचे सेवेसी

पोष्यांकित अपाजी राम कृतनेक सां नमस्कार विज्ञापना येथील कुशल ता आशाढ शुद्ध ९ पर्यंत अपले कृपेकरून यथास्थित असो विशेष दिवस जाले आपल्याकडून कृपा पत्र येऊन परामृश होत नाही तेणेकरून चित्त चिंतातूर असे यैसे नसावे सदैव आलिया वार्तिका समवेत पत्र पाठ सांभाळ करीत आसिले पाहिजे जे वेळी पत्रे येतात ते वेळेस आनंदावास होत जातो ते पत्री लिहिता पुर्वत नाही इकडील राजकी वर्तमान नजीबखानासी व जाटासी सलाह करून देऊन तेथून दर मजल अनूपशहरास आलो तेथें सुज्यायदौले येऊन भेटी बहूत मिनतमानी केला की फिरंगी याची आमचा मुलूख घेतला आहे आमची साईता करावी त्यावरून श्रीमंत राजश्री सुभेदारानी कबूल केले रा (रे) हिले पठाण याचे पारपत्य करण तैसेच च्यार रोज महकूफ करून दर मजल जाजमुहूस आला तेथे बातमी आली की फुरा ज्याहानाबादेत नजफखान च्यार हजार फौजेनसी आहे त्यासी सिकस्त दिल्ही तदंतर फिरंगीच चालोन आले त्यासी जुझ मातबर जाले च्यार पाचसे घोडे आणले तीन ताफा व चाली (स) पन्नास उंट आणली तही दम धरून मुकामास आले आम्हीहि घरा धालोन होतो बातमी तो आली राहिले पठाण येकत्र होऊन बुणग्याव (र) आले मग तैसेच चालो ते कालपीस बुणगे उतरून पुनरोक्त फौज रवाना तीर्थरूप राजश्री तात्यास केले तेथे येक लढाई जाली हरोल तमाम बुडविला हजार +++ घोडे व च्यारसे उंट फिरंगी दोन पलटणे व बाणाच्या कैच्या व वीस पंचवीस निशाणे आणली ते गावचा आश्रये धरून राहिले तेथे च्यार सा का (को) स पावतो फौजा राहेत यैसे पाणी नवते यामुळें उलटोन कालपीस आले तेही रिकामी जाना पाहून कालपीस आले नाकेबंदी केली मग च्या पाच नावा मेलऊन गतवा धरून उतरले मोर्चे ताफाखाले उघले च्यार पाच घडी जुझ जाले परंतु बेहद भारी घोडियाचा नाविलाज जाला यामुले गनिमाचाव करून बेहद हुद देऊन

उभे राहिलो त्यानी कालपीत ठाणे बसऊन माघारे गेले आम्ही तैसेच उलाटोण त्याचे ठाणे काढून देऊन आपले ठाणे बसविले तेथून उमरगडचा बंदोबस्त करून छावणीस ग्वालर प्राते चाललो आहो निश्चये जालिया लेहून पा। आपणाकडील साकल्यार्थ लिहावयासी आज्ञा केली पाहिजे बहूत काये लिहिणे लोभाची वृधी कीजे हे विनती माणक्या घोडा सूज्यायेत दौले याजवळ होता तो श्रीमंत राजश्री सुभेदार घेऊन आले हुजूर पांगत आहे वलो केला आहे भेटीनंतर आपलाच आहे कळावे म्हणोन लिहिणे आहे विनती.

शेवसी माहादाजी गंगाधर कृतानेक सां नमस्कार विनंती उपरी इकडील वर्तमान सर्व तर्थिरूप राजश्री आपानी लिा आहे त्यावरून कलेल लिा. परसोन....



APPENDIX No. XV.

(A.) This and the letter following, both show how Subhedar Malhar Rao induced the Kanungo of Indore to populate the Kasba of Indore. (6th November, 1741 A. D.)

१ श्रीम्हालसाकांत.

मशारुलनाम चतुरभुजदास कानगो सायर प्रगणे इंदोर गोसावि यास स्नेहांकीत मलहारजी होलकर दंडवत सुरु सन इसेन अरबेन मया व अलफ कसबे इंदोर येथें सरकारी वाड्याची जागा पसंत होऊन बांधण्याचे आरंभ केलें आहे, आपण सायर सिवाय जमेचे कानगो आसून शहरची अबादी होऊन कडती भरती व्हावी यानुळें आमदनी जी वाढेल यांत आपला हक्क प्राचीन वहीवाटी प्रमाणें एक रुपयांत चार आणे घेत आला अहात. हल्ली सरकार वाड्याचे जवळ आपली बिरादरी सह जागा बांधून अबादी करावी आणि उजेन वगैरे ठिकाणाहून सावकार वगैरे लोक आणून अबादी करणे याची कुल जीम्मेवारी आपल्याकडेस आहे शहर अबाद जाहल्यास आपलीच आमदनी वाढेल आणि कुटुंबाचा उत्तम प्रकारे पोशण होऊन आपली खेर खुवाई सरकारचे दृष्टीस पडेल जाणिजे चंद्र १५ रमजान (मोर्तब सुद).

श्रीम्हालसाकांत चरणी तत्पर खंडोजी सुत मलहारजी होळकर निरंतर.

२ मशरुल नाम चतुरभुजदास कानगो सायर इंदोर स्नेहांकित मलहारजी होळकर दंडवत सुरु सन सलास अरबेन मया व अलफ. (7th January, 1743 A. D.) सन साल गुदस्त साली पत्र पाठविले, त्या प्रमाणे तुमचा राहण्याचा वाडा खान नदी तीरी होता तो तुह्मी कचेरीकरीतां सरकारात देऊन आपली बिरादरीसह सरकार वाड्याजवळ जागा बांधून राहूं लागले कसब्यांत वस्ती व्हावी. या उद्दे-

श्रीम्हाळसाकांत चरणी तत्पर खंडोजी सुत मलहारजी होळकर निरंतर

शानी उज्जेनी वगैरे ठिकाणें जाऊन, पन्नास सावकाराची घरे आणून अबादी केली, आणि जास्त करण्याची मनशा आहे असे मिरजा अदलबेग व नारोशंकर याणी पुणे मुक्कामी विदीत केलें. त्यास मोठी खुसी होऊन आनंद जहाला आपले घराण्याचे असेच काम आहे हे शहर वसाहत झाल्या पासून आपली आमदानी वाढून निरंतर करिता कायम राहील, असे वारंवार मनांत अणोन सावकाराची भरती करा. यांत तुमचे कल्याण असोन सरकारांत आमदानी होईल यामुळें तुह्मी शोभेसी याल जे सावकार येतील त्याची उत्तम प्रकारे करून मानपानची सन्दा दिल्या जातील अशी खातरी करित रहावी या संमंधी जो खर्च लागेल, त्याची यादी करून पाठवावी. कळावे लोभ असावा हे विनंती जाणिजे चंद्र २१ जिलकाद मोर्तब सुद (मोर्तब सुद).

(B) The death of Gautamabai (wife of Subhedar Malhar Rao Holkar) and the consequent grant of land to Bramhins. The letter is dated 31st October 1761—(Kartik Shud 4.)

The grant of land is made, generally, on the 11th day of demise. Thus it follows that the death must have taken place on the 21st of October 1761.

The letter also exhibits the Secretariate system of the Maratha rule.

श्री रोजकीर्द.

सरकार राजेश्री मल्हारजी होळकर.

माहे रबिलाखर सुा. इसने

दफाते पत्रे छ २ रो.

प्रगणे इंदूरी मौजे पिंपल्या राय येथें सौभाग्यवती गौतमाबाईचा काळ जाहला, सबब दान पृथ्वी दिल्ही ब्राह्मण असामी ३ इनाम जमीन दर असामीस बिघे सुमारे ३० येणें प्रमाणें बिघे ९० दिल्हे त्याची इनाम पत्रें तपसिले ४ मुरलीधर भट पिता रघुनाथ भट उपमन्य गोत्री औदुंबर जोसी वास्तव्य किले मजकूर यासी पत्रें.

१ नावाचे
१ वर्तमान भावी कमाविसदार
१ जमीदारास
१ गांवकरी यास

४

४ छत्रेश्वर जोशी पिता उपमन्यु गोत्र औदुंबर वास्तव्य किले मजकूर यासी पत्रें
१ नावाचे
१ कमाविसदार वर्तमान भावी
१ जमीदार
१ गांवकरी मजकूर

४

४ हरीचंद्र वैद्य
१ नावाचे
१ वर्तमान भावी कमाविसदार.
१ जमीदारास
१ गांवकरी मजकूर

४

१२

येणें प्रमाणें पत्रें बारा इनामची करून दिल्ही असेन जमीन अवल दुय्यम सयिम प्रतीची लायक, बागाईत व जिराईत बाबत सरदेशमुखीं जागीर मोकासा दरोबस्त खेरीज इनामदार करून दरोबस्त पत्रें दिल्ही इनामासी.

(C) This letter shows how efforts were made by high personages like Gautamabai (wife of Subhedar Malhar Rao Holkar) to introduce horticulture into Alampur Pargana.

सुभा राजश्री मलहरजी होळकर रोजकीर्द

सफर छ ७ सुा. सितासितेनमया व अलफ.

दफाते पत्रें (२६ जूलै १७६५)

मिरज्या अदलबेग कमाविसदार प्रो. देगाळपूर यांस पत्र कीं. मौजे आलमपूर प्र. मजकूर येथें तीर्थस्वरूप सो. बाईसाहेब कैलासवासि यानी जिरायती जमीन बागास घेऊन बाग करून विहीर खणुन उस्तवारी केली सांप्रत बाग बुडित जाला म्हणोन हुजूर विदित जाले. त्यावरून तुम्हास पत्र सादर केले असे. तरी माळी व बैल बागास देऊन बागाची उस्तवारी करणें. ह्मणोन पत्र प्रो. हुजुर. अलमपुरचे जिरायत शंभर विघे मुदामत खाजगीकडे चालत आले आहे त्याप्रमाणे खाजगीकडे जिरायत चालते करून त्या ऐवजी मालियांसी मुशाहिरा व बागास खर्च लाऊन उस्तवारी होय ते करणें. आंब्याची लावणी फुलें झाडें वगैरे लाऊन उस्तवारी करणें. ह्मणोन पत्र कलम १ तो पाकरगीर बावा बागाची देखरेख तुझी करणें ह्मणोन पत्र लिहिले असे कलम १.

APPENDIX No. XVI.

The following Extract from the autobiography of Nana Phadnavis will be interesting. While returning from the plains of Panipat, the future Prime Minister of the Maratha Empire narrates his bitter experiences in a most vivid manner. His meeting with Malharji Holkar at Gwalior as well as his receiption at Rewari is noteworthy:-

"At this place (Rewari) one Balorao (Rai Baleirai) had been very particular in his inquiries regarding me, as I understood from a number of people I recognised in the town. As I knew nothing of this person, and could not conceive what his intentions were, I was averse to discovering myself, but at length I made myself known to him. He took me instantly to his house, and treated me and all my

party with great kindness and hospitality; he then furnished me with some clothes; and on its being made known who I was to Ramji Das Joshi, a merchant of the place, he came and begged of me to occupy a part of his house. Here I was I entertained with great attention for seven days. My wish now was to proceed to Dig and Bharatpur but it was requisite to have an escort. At length a wedding-party was going in that direction; and, hiring a carriage, I accompanied it. On the road I was met by Krishna Bhatt Vaidya, who told me that Viraji Bhawadikar had saved my wife, and having taken care of her had left her in the house of Narupant Gokhale, in the village of Jigny. I accordingly went to Jigny, and was much delighted to find my wife again, for whom I now hired another carriage, and we proceeded to Dig, where Purushottam Mahadeo (Hingne) had come from the field of Panipat, and was living in the house of a Gumasta (agent), of Wanavle, who had a banking office in that town. The moment the agent heard of my arrival he insisted on our going to put up with him, where I remained with my wife for a full month. I made every inquiry for my poor mother, but all that I could ever hear of her was from one of my own khidmatgars (domestics), who said he saw her cut down while sitting on her horse and believed that she died instantly. This is the only account I ever obtained of her fate. Having now supplied ourselves with horses and a palki, I went by the route of Dhowlpore to Gwalior. Here the bulk of the army that survived the action had arrived before me. Among others were Parwatibai (Bhow sahib's wife) Nana Purandare, Malharji Holkar, and several others..... At Barhanpur I had the happiness to see Nana Sahib; but I found him sadly afflicted, and his frame much reduced. Indeed, his intellect seemed affected sometimes; and, contrary to custom, he was in the habit of abusing grossly the military

chiefs. To me however, even at these moments, he was extremely kind and seemed anxious to know from my mouth every particular relating to the battle."

The high place that Nana Phadnavis, then a boy of nineteen, held in the estimation of the Peshwa Nanasahib might be imagined from the manner in which the Peshwa treated him at this time of physical and mental distress. The anniversary of the death of Baji Rao happened to be during the Peshwa's stay at Toka. Nana Phadnavis was asked to dine with the Peshwa. "When the dinner was brought in the Peshwa made His Highness Madhav Rao sit on one side, and me on the other close to him; and while the females were putting down the dishes under his new wife's(1) superintendence, he constantly corrected her in their arrangement; and during dinner he caused her to help me to some dishes, as if I were one of the family."

APPENDIX No. XVII.

Much has already been said about the Kadam Bande family and Malhar Rao Holkar's connection with it. Sardar Deorao Kadam Bande, the present representative of the

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(1). Vide Rawlinson's Nana Phadnavis, pages 170-172. The Peshwa Nanasahib had married another wife from a Deshasta family of Paithan shortly before this time.

Lala Shri Rama, M. A. of Delhi, came to see me and pointed out how he was connected with Rai Balerai, who received Nana Phadnavis and others with hospitality at Rewari while they were returning to the Deccan in a miserable plight. Lala Shree Rama is the great grandson of Rai Balerai, the host of Nana Phadnavis and descendant of Rajah Todar Mal the Finance Minister of Emperor Akbar the Great.

family, requests me to publish the following verses from "Malhar Rao Holkar Kavya" published by Mr. Govind Aiknath Gosawi of Nasik:—

"ॐ शिवाय"

(1) कंठाजाच्या जवळ दिधलें मातुलें त्या मुलाला ।
युद्धांमध्यें प्रविण करण्या प्रार्थिलें ही तयाला ॥
मल्हारीही उपकृति पुढें वैभवीं पूर्ण त्याची ।
बांडा झेंडा स्वचमुमधि तो लावुनी फेडी साची ॥१॥
येयें बांडा ध्वज फडकतो इंदुरी तो अजूनी ।
खासा गाशा मिळत बसण्या वंशजा, चाल जूनी ॥

(1) कंठार्जा कदम बांडे.

APPENDIX No. XVIII.

The following comparative statement of the Territories of the Holkar State will enable our readers to form an idea of the extensive dominions which were acquired by Malhar Rao Holkar as Saranjam from the Peshwas. Their income was about 75 lakhs in Malhar Rao's time. Had the entire dominions, as given by the Peshwas, continued in Holkar's possession, their yearly income might have been, at least, about four crores. After the treaty of Rajpur Ghat of 1805 and the treaty of Mandsaur of 1818, the Holkar State was exceedingly reduced in extent. Those, who wish to make a comparative study of the past greatness of this State, will find much in the following statement:—

Comparative Statement of the Teritories of Holkar during the time of Devi Ahilyabai and after 1817 A. D.

Serial No.	Name of Pergana, village etc.	Revenue and other receipts about the year 1797 A. D.	Revenue and other receipts in or about 1817 A. D.	Position after 1817.
	To the South of the Nerbada River (Southern Division)			
1	Monza Wafgaon and 8 more villages	50,000	15,000	Only six remained to the State, the rest being given up to the E. I. Co.

2	Taluka Depur (Sangamner) Prant Gangthadi.	50,000	15,000	Ceded to the East India Co.
3	Taluka Korhula	20,000	4 000	Ceded to the East India Co.
4	Pergana Chandore (Chandwad) ...	75,000	70,000	Only nine villages remained with the State, the rest having been given to the E. I. C.
5	„ Sivagaon (Prant Gangthadi)	40,000	10,000	Ceded the East India Co.
§6	„ Ambad (do) ...	3,00,000	75,000	„
7	„ Werule (do) ...	25,000	10,000	„
8	„ Shitur (Dhodalgaon) ...	30,000	15,000	„
9	„ Adgaon of Nasik ...	4,000	2,000	„
10	Mauza Wadziri ...	1,00)	500	„
11	„ Pad ...	500	200	„
12	Mauza Pisaur ...	1,000	500	„
13	„ Udwadı ...	500	300	„

§ Villages 218 out of 237 belonged to Holkar

Serial No.	Name of Pergana, village etc.	Revenue and other receipts about the year 1797 A. D,	Revenue and other receipts in or about 1817 A. D.	Position after 1817.
14	„ Kanapur (Katpur) ...	4,000	2,000	Ceded to the East India Co.
15	„ Nagar ...	8,000	1,000	„
16	„ Jamgaon ...	12,000	1,000	„
17	Kashi Wadgaon (5 Mahals). ...	...	...	„
	Khandesh Division			
18	Pergana Galna ...	40,000	10,000	„
19	„ Wadel ...	5,000	1,000	„
20	„ Nandurbar ...	3,00,000	40,000	„
21	„ Sultanpur ...	2,50,000	40,000	„
22	Thalner includes two Inam villages	1,25,000	25,000	„

23	„ Utran ...	75,000	5,000	Ceded to the East India Co.
24	„ Adawad ...	30,000	5,000	do
25	„ Kashti Chandanpuri ...	5,000	20,000	Not clear whether the State lost its right.
26	„ Raver	50,000	20,000	Ceded to the East India Co.
27	Mauza Nhylode etc. (5 villages) ...	25,000	8,000	do
28	Mauza Amba (2 villages) ...	10,000	...	
29	„ Kanabarne (Per. Songiri) ..			
	Nemar			
30-48	Sarkar Bijagarh consisting of the following Perganas:— ... (1) Haveli (2) Islambag (3) Amblatha (4) Un (5) Barud (6) Sangwi (7) Farabad (8) Jambri (Jamli) (9) Bhikangaon (10) Chamari-Koli-pura (11) Daula Mita (12) Khudgaon (13) Mahmmadpur (14) Mardana (15) Bala-	1,50,000	20,000	With the State

Serial No.	Name of Pergana, village etc.	Revenue and other receipts about the year 1797 A. D.	Reference and other receipts in or about 1817 A. D.	Position after 1817
	kwada (16) Jalalabad (17) Darkhala (Chahdpatti) (18) Sanawad (Baswa) (19) Kale gujar (Kasba Akbarpur)	...		
49	Fort Sendhwa	5,000	...	With the State
50	„ Nagalwadi	10,000	500	do
51	„ Brahmangaon		1,000	do
	To the North of the Narbada.	50,000		
52	Talukas Maheshwar Choli Karhai...		20,000	With the State
53	Nemawar Panch Mahal consisting of (1) Nemawar (2) Nimanpur (3) Satwas Kathaphod (4) Rajore (5) Harangaon ...	20,000	10,000	With the State. Nimanpur included in Indore Mahal. It is with Dhar at present.

54	Pergana Depalpur ...	1,50,000	60,000	With the State
55	Fort Khushalgarh ...	...	...	do
56	Pergana Sundersi ...	4,000	1,000	do
57-66	Pergana Rampura, Garoth, Bhanpura, Chandawasa, Pardha, Manasa Antri, Kukdeshwar, Khadawada and Amad ...	5,00,000	2,00,000	do
67	Pergana Narayangarh (alias Budha)	80,000	40,000	do
68	Pergana Alampur (Salone) ...	50,000	30,000	do
69	„ Aurangabad etc. ...	...	...	do
70	„ Katkut ...	...	...	do
71	„ Indore ...	2,50,000	50,000	With the State
72	„ Sanwer ...	60,000	20,000	do
73	„ Betma ...	25,000	8,000	do
74	„ Hasalpur ...	12,000	1,000	do

Serial No.	Name of Pergana, village etc.	Revenue and other receipts about the year 1797 A. D.	Revenue and other receipts in or about 1817 A. D.	Position after 1718.
75	„ Tarana ...	1,50,000	20,000	do
76	„ Kaytha ...	15,000	4,000	do
77	„ Mahidpur ...	2,00,000	40,000	do
78	„ Jirapur ...	40,000	12,000	do
89	„ Machalpur ...	40,000	12,000	do
80	„ Kherabad Bakani (half share)			do
81	„ Lawani ...	Probably waste and therefore not yielding anything.		
82	Pimplod (Talati) ...			
83	„ Hindola ...			
84	„ Kothada-Chikhalda ...	25,000	5,000	do

	Rajput and other Holdings.				
85	Pergana Devali (Pratapgarh)	...	70,000	50,000	With the State
86	„ Jhabua	...	40,000	15,000	do
87	„ Dongarpur Banswara	...	20,000	20,000	Should be with the State.
88	„ Pergana Jaora	...	1,25,000	1,00,000	Granted to Nawab Gafoor Khan on Military Service.
89	„ Bardawad	...	30,000	20,000	
90	„ Piploda	...	30,000	30,000	
91	„ Malhargah	...	80,000	60,000	
92	„ Sanjit	...	45,000	30,000	
93	„ Tal-Mandawal	...	1,00,000	60,000	
94	„ Pidhawa	...	1,00,000	70,000	Ceded to Nawab Mir Khan
95	„ Sironj	...	3,00,000	2,00,000	do
96	„ Nimbaheda	...	1,75,000	50,000	do

Serial No.	Name of Pergana, village etc.	Revenue and other receipts about the year 1797 A. D.	Reference and other receipts in or about 1817 A. D.	Position after 1817
97	„ Gugal Chabda ...	1,00,000	50,000	do
98	„ Tonk ...	2,75,000	2,00,000	do
99	„ Kotha ...	1,50,000	1,50,000	do
100	Sansthan Jaipur ...	3,50,000	3,50,000	Ceded to the East India Co.
101	„ Bundi including Lakheri ...	1,00,000	35,000	do
102	Perganas Indargarh, Khatoli, Nimsarai and Rajpura ...	20,000	15,000	do
103	Pergana Rampura Khurd ...	85,000	40,000	Ceded to Tonk
104	Sansthan Udaipur (Chitore) ...	2,00,000	2,00,000	Ceded to East India Co,
105	„ Shopur	20,000	20,000	Given up to Sindhia
106	„ Narsingarh ...	85,000	10,000	With the State

107	Paragana Aur ...	25,000	20,000	Ceded to Zalam Singh of Kotah
108	„ Pachpahad ...	80,000	60 000	do
109	„ Dug ...	1,00,000	30,000	do
110	Peragana Gangrad ...	1,25,000	20,000	do
111	„ Kothadi ...	20,000	12,000	With the State
112	„ Sunel ...	25,000	18,000	do
113	„ Raipur ...	15,000	10,000	do
114	„ Sandhara ...	25,000	10.000	do
115	„ Keshori Patan ($\frac{1}{3}$ share) ...	30,000	15,000	do (Money payment received)
116	„ Koonch of Bundelkhand ...	2,75,000	1,50,000	do (Till the death of Princess Bhima Bai)
117	Prant Hindusthan			
118–126	Anterwed (Doab) consisting of the following Peraganas:—			No longer with the State.
	(1) Kannod (2) Devlali (3) Sameet (4) Alipur-Arwar (5) Soru (6) Patch Machao (7) Gangeri (8) Sikandara (9) Akabarabad (half with Sindia & half with Holkar.)			

APPENDIX No. XIX.

We give below some Extracts, from the excellent speech which Srimant Dharmavir Sardar Chandroji Rao Angre of Gwalior, delivered on the occasion of the celebration of Subhedar Malhar Rao Holkar's anniversary on the 30th of April 1928 in the Town Hall at Indore:-

१. "श्रीमंत बाजीराव साहेब पेशवे, जवान मर्द मराठे गड्यांपैकीं श्रीमंत महादजी शिंदे व श्रीमंत सुभेदार मल्हारराव होळकर यांच्या काळच्या इतिहासाकडे पाहिलें तर एक बाब प्रामुख्यानें दृगोचर होते ती ही कीं, मराठ्यांच्या वाढत्या मुलुखगिरींत कर्तृत्वशाली अशा पुढाऱ्यांचा भरणा अव्याहतपणें महाराष्ट्रांतून होत होता. सर्व कार्याबरोबरच आपल्या तंत्रानुरूप बागणारी कार्यक्षम माणसें तयार करणें हें सर्वांत महत्वाचें काम आहे. श्रीशिवाजी महाराजांनीं आरंभिलेल्या राजकीय आखाड्यांतून पराक्रमी व कसलेले खंदे वीर पुढें बराच काळ निर्माण होत होते म्हणूनच दिल्लीपति औरंगजेबाचा ३० वर्षे दक्षिणेत तळ राहून तेथेंच त्याचा शेवटीं अंत झाला तरी मराठशाहीला तो धक्का लावूं शकला नाहीं. नादिरशहानें हिंदुस्थानावर स्वारी केली तेव्हां दक्षिणेंतून बाजीराव पेशव्यास त्याचें पारिपत्य करण्यासाठीं बोलावून आणावें लागलें, ही एकच गोष्ट महाराष्ट्रीयांच्या पराक्रमाची ग्वाही देत आहे. पाटीलबाबांनीं दिल्लीपतीला आपल्या हातांतलें बाहुलें करून जी मर्दुमकी गाजविली तिला आमच्या इतिहासांत दुसरी तोडच नाहीं. मात्र अशा प्रकारें स्वसंस्कृतीस घातुक अशा परकीयांस कोठेंहि आणि केव्हांहि स्थिर करण्यांत आलें तें कितपत येाग्य झालें होतें हा प्रश्न अगदीं निराळा!

२. "अशा शूर पुरुषांस जन्म देणाऱ्या महाराष्ट्रांतून आज कोणत्या प्रकारचे नेते बाहेर पडतात, इकडे सर्व राष्ट्राचे डोळे लागून राहिले असतां महाराष्ट्र दुहीनें भंगला जावा, त्याचीं बारीक बारीक शकलें केवळ वैयक्तिक व क्षुल्लक अशा मतभेदामुळें व्हावीं हे योग्य नव्हे. वैयक्तिक द्वेषामुळें राष्ट्रकार्याची हानि कशी होते हें पानपतच्या घनघोर संग्रामानें दर्शविलें आहे ना? तेथें झालेली प्राणहानि आणि राष्ट्रहानि पुरेशी नाहीं का? पुनः पुनः तीच चूक करावयाची असेल, त्याच त्याच दगडावर अडखळून पडावयाचें असेल,

तर मातृभाषेचें अध्ययन, इतिहासाचें परिशीलन, विभूतींचें पूजन, शुद्धि आणि संघटन इत्यादि धडपडी तरी कशासाठीं करावयाच्या ? वीर पुरुषांचे उत्सव म्हणजे करमणुकीचा एक प्रकार नसून आत्मशुद्धीचें आत्मसंशोधनचें व पुढील कार्यासाठीं आवश्यक असणाऱ्या अगम्य अशा अंतःस्फूर्तीचें व नवचैतन्याचें तें एक परिणामकारक साधन आहे. अशा प्रसंगीं कुविचारांनीं कुजलेल्या भावनांचा आपण संपर्क देखील होऊं देतां कामा नये.

३. "महाराष्ट्र" हें नांव यथार्थ होण्यासाठीं "महाराष्ट्रीयांनीं" आपला प्रज्वालित व स्फुरणदायक इतिहास सतत डोळ्यांपुढें ठेऊन कर्तव्यतत्पर व कर्तबगार अशीं माणसें सर्व राष्ट्राला पुरविलीं पाहिजत. पूर्वी हा मक्ता महाराष्ट्रानेंच घेतल्याचें इतिहास स्पष्टपणें सांगत आहे. पुढाऱ्यांनीं आपल्या परीनें महाराष्ट्रीयांचा परंपरा चालविणारा, महाराष्ट्रीय संस्कृतीस जागणारा असा नव्या पिढींतला एक वर्गच निर्माण करून भावी काळाची पूर्व तयारी करून ठेविली नाहीं तर कर्तव्यविमुखतेचा दोष त्यांचे माथीं येईल. दूरदृष्टीनें भावी इतिहास पाहून ध्येय गांठण्यासाठीं काय काय साधनसामुग्री पाहिजे याचे अंदाजपत्रक आपल्या मनाशीं काढून पाहणें व गतकालांतील अनुभवाच्या आढाव्यावरून पुढील तरतूद करणें हेंच देशांतील नेत्यांचें प्रमुख कर्तव्य आहे.

४. "श्रीमंत बाजीराव अथवा पाटीलबाबा यांनीं अशा तऱ्हेची चूक होऊं दिली नाहीं. उलट, आपण जिच्या आश्रयाखालीं आहोंत ती स्वराज्याची इमारत अधिक बळकट आणि चिरस्थाई कशी होईल इकडे त्यांनीं पोक्तपणानें, दूरदृष्टीनें व प्रामुख्यानें लक्ष पुरविलें होतें. वैयक्तिक मतभेद हे राष्ट्रकार्याच्या वेळीं विसरून जावे लागतात व राष्ट्रकार्य हेंच ध्येय डोळ्या पुढें अक्षय्य खेळवावें लागतें. इंग्लंडच्या इतिहासाप्रमाणेंच महाराष्ट्राच्या शिवकालीन इतिहासाचें परिशीलन केल्यास जयप्राप्तीच्या गुरुकिल्लीचा तपास लागतो.

५. "अशा इतिहासप्रसिद्ध स्वधर्मोद्धारक विभूती म्हणजे प्रथमारंभी उद्धृत केलेल्या गीतेंतील भगवद्वचनानुसार श्रीकृष्णाचे अंशच होत. त्यांचे उत्सव साजरे करणें हें धार्मिक कृत्याप्रमाणें पुण्यदायक तर खरेंच, पण

राष्ट्रकार्यात अशा उत्सवांचें महत्व फार असल्यानें असल्या सत्कृत्यांस सर्वांनीं सहाय्य करणें हें त्यांचें कर्तव्य होय. विशेषतः इतिहासकालीन वैभवाची अवशिष्ट अशी जी राजघराणीं आहेत त्यांनीं पूर्वजांच्या अभिमानास व त्यांच्या पुज्य स्मृतीस जागरूक राहून सढळ हातानें सहाय्य करावयास पाहिजे. राष्ट्रकार्याचें महत्त्व पूर्णपणें ओळखणें व योग्य त्या ठिकाणींच भरपूर देणगी देणें हें कर्तव्य फक्त श्री. क. माधव महाराजांनीं, श्री. सयाजीराव महाराजांनीं आणि श्रीमंत तुकोजीराव होळकर यांनींच अलीकडे बजाविलेलें दिसतें. राज्यपदारूढ नसतां व जवळचीं पैशाची थैली नियमित झाली असतांही शुद्धिसंघटनेचें महत्त्व व आवश्यकता ओळखून एक लक्षाची देणगी व सहा हजारांची वार्षिक रकम देणें म्हणजे खरोखर थोर वृत्तीचें हें चिन्ह आहे. शुद्धिसंघटनेस किंवा अशा राष्ट्रीय कार्यास अशी औदार्यपूर्ण व राजपदवीस साजेशी देणगी इतरांनीं कां बरें देउं नये? श्रीमंत तुकोजीराव महाराजांनीं राष्ट्रीय गरज ताबडतोब जाणली, व स्वतःस झीज सोसून हें इतके सहाय केलें याबद्दल ते स्तुतीस पात्र आहेत. नरेन्द्रमंडळाच्या सिंहासनाधिष्ठित सभासदांना मात्र त्यांनीं आपल्या या औदार्यानें लाजविलें यांत तिलप्राय शंका नाहीं."



Works by the Same Author.

Shri Ramgita.

Senate House,
Allahabad January 25, 1928.

DEAR SIR,

Many thanks for your most interesting volume on the Shri Ramagita. It is a most valuable contribution to the study of real Vedanta. I am specially thankful for the way in which you have proved the all-embracing character of Hinduism. It is my firm conviction that Hinduism in its best form embraces all the more the important religions of the world. I am glad that you are a product of this University and that you are still maintaining your study of Indian Philosophy.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) **Ganganath Jha.**

Aundh,
10th August 1929.

MY DEAR MR. BURWAY.

It is very kind of you to send me the book on "Ramagita" and to promise to send me your new book on Maratha History. Your energy and zeal in writing the book on Maratha History in such advanced age is certainly creditable,

Your Sincerely,
(Sd.) **B. S. Pant,**
Chief of Aundh.

Viceregal Lodge,
Delhi.
11th February, 1929.

DEAR MR. BURWAY,

It is very good indeed of you to have sent two copies of your new book " Shri Ramagita " and His Excellency asks me to thank you very much for his copy and to say that he will read it with great interest.

I have pleasant recollections of the talk we had at Indore and I hope that you are in the best of health.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) **G. Cunningham.**

Law College Poona.
23rd April 1929,

MY dear Burway Sahib,

I am glad to have received your kind letter and your scholarly work on the " Ramagita ". The wondeaful energy evidenced in the publication of the books must indeed be the envy of many.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) **J. R. Gharpure.**

Shri Bhagawad Gita.

" The book under review is really a valuable aid to the appreciation of the beauties of the Song Celestial. The book has been ably written and deserves a wide sale "

Vedic Magazine March, 1917, Himalaya.

Highly spoken of by the Press & the Public.

The Marathas and the Moghals.

In a leading article in the " Bengalee " Sir Surendranath Bannerjee says, inter alia, as follows:-

" .....Mr. Burway deals with those causes which led to the great struggle and unravels the hidden impulses of the movement which culminated in the establishment of the Maratha Empire....."

" This little historical work is the embodiment of laborious and critical research on the part of the learned author .....We commend the book to the notice of our educated countrymen....." —*The Amrit Bazar Patrika, Calcutta.*

.....The book will be very useful to every student of Indian History and to those who would like to trace the causes which led to the decline and fall of some of the most glorious and splendid empires in the world....."

—*The Hindu, Madras.*

".....कै. रा. सा. रानड्यांच्या इतिहासानंतर इंग्रजींत महाराष्ट्र लेखकानें लिहिलेलें हें पुस्तक पंधरा वर्षांनंतर पाहावयास सांपडलें, यामुळें या पुस्तकाचा मान विशेष आहे.....सध्याचा हिंदुस्थानचा बोल मराठींतून नसून इंग्रजींतून आहे. त्याचा खंड पडला तर पूर्वजांचें नांव बाकीच्या बिरादरींतून नष्ट होईल, ही भावना झालेले जे थोडे लोक आहेत त्यांना रा. रा. बर्वे हे आहेत, यामुळें आम्ही त्यांच्या कृतीला विशेष मान देतों. पुन्हां रा. र. बर्वे यांचें अभिनंदन करून अशींच इतर पुस्तकें व विशेषतः मध्य आर्यावर्तातील अस्सल ऐतिहासिक लेख प्रसिद्ध करण्याबद्दल आम्ही त्यांना सुचवितों." —*Vividh Dyan Vistar Bombay.*

Life of Rao Raja Sir Dinkar Rao.

K C. S. I.

Highly spoken of by the Press and the Public,

Ranoji Rao Sindhia.

Founder of the Gwalior State.

Highly spoken of by " The Indian Review " " The Prabuddha Bharat, " " The Hindustan Review," and other Journals.

Life of Mahadji Sindhia.

6-10-1921.

MY DEAR MR. BURWAY,

I have to thank you for your admirable book on Mahadji Scindhia. Your nephew (Mr. R. G, Burway, B. A.), a very charming young man, came to the High Court and presented it to me. I have read it with the greatest pleasure and interest.

With all kind regards and warmest thanks.

Your sincerely,
(Sd) **C. A. Kincaid.**

The Yarrows Simla.
Dated 12-5-22.

MY DEAR BURWAY,

Very many thanks for your kind letter and the book —Mahadji Scindhia portions of which I read with great interest on the day it arrived.

I admire your literary activity. It shall be a good example to younger men. With kindest regards.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) **Tej Bahadur Sapru.**

".....You have taken a very Judicious view of the whole thing and I congratulate you upon your successful delineation of the several characters in yonr most eventful story of the great Mahadji Scindhia....."

(Sd.) **C. G. Bhanu.**

" We welcome with much satisfaction Mr. Burway's new life of Mahadji Scindia. It is the first biography—so far as we are aware—written of that eminent statesman and soldier by any of his countrymen in English. Lives of Mahadji Scindia exist from the pens of the late Mr. Keene and of Mr. Oswell of the Rajkumar College at Raipur. But neither of these two writers knew the Marathi Language or the Maratha people. The result is that in their pages Mahadji Scindia is hardly a Maratha at all. To appreciate the limitations as well as the greatness of this Maratha leader, we must regard his career as a fragment of history of the Maratha people. The motives of his actions are to be found not in the events of Central India, but in the politics of the Peshwa's Court at Poona. Mr. Burway, himself a Chitpawan Brahmin, had mastered this secret when he sat down to write the book before us. The happy result is that he has produced a very readable and valuable book.

Mahadji Scindia was born in 1727 A. D. He was the son of Ranoji Scindia, an officer, who had risen to distinction under Bajirao I. Ranoji by his Maratha wife, Nimbabai, had three sons Jayappa, Jotiba and Dattaji. By a Rajput mistress, Chimnabai, he had two sons, Mahadji and Tukaji. Ranoji died in 1746, when Mahadji was still a lad. But Jayappa and Dattaji fell in battle in Rajputana. Jotiba died in 1752. Lastly Jankojirao, Jayappa's son, was murdered by Ahmed Shah after the battle of Panipat in 1761. Thus, by

the deaths of his legitimate kinsmen, Mahadji succeeded to his father's jaghir. Mahadji was severely wounded in the flight from Panipat, but recovered from his wound and spent the rest of his life in wreaking his vengeance on the Musulmans. The Peshwa, Madhavrao I, had the highest opinion of Mahadji Scindia's military skill and repeatedly gave him high commands in the armies sent by him to restore Maratha prestige north of the river Chambal. Scindia acted as became a prudent and skillful soldier. But, as Mr. Burway rightly points out, the chief credit of his successes belongs to the capable prince, who equipped and reorganised the Maratha armies. Guided by the Peshwa's wisdom, Scindia wiped out in Rohilla blood the great disaster of Panipat and conquered all Rohilkhand with hardly the loss of a man. So imposing were the Maratha victories that the Emperor Shah Alam, until that time a fugitive with the English, decided to leave their protection and seek that of the Marathas. The Peshwa was now the master of Hindustan.

The spirit of Madhavrao animated the Maratha Government long after his death in 1772; and in the capable hands of the regent, Nana Phadnavis, the Maratha victories in the north were repeated in the south against the Nizam and Haider Ali. In most of these expeditions Mahadji Scindia took a prominent part. The victory of the Marathas over the English at wadgaon was due largely to his leadership. But probably the greatest proof of Scindia's sagacity was the employment of the Savoyard adventurer De Boigne. With De Boigne's help he raised a large disciplined force that humbled the Rajput princes of Rajputana, until then deemed invincible by Hindus. The death of Mahadji Scindia occured at Vanavdi on the 12th February 1794. A curious controversy has arisen as to the manner of his death. According to all the Maratha writers, he died of fever; but a

Musulman writer in the Tawarikh Muzaffari thought fit to ascribe his death to assassins hired by Nana Phadnavis. There seems to be no evidence for this assertion. Yet it was adopted by Mr. Keene and Sir James campbell. It is a gross libel on the unfortunate regent and Mr. Burway has rightly commented on it with great severity. Here we must take leave of Mr. Burway's charming book and wish him every success in his future essays in historical research."—Times of India, 21st February 1923.

Life of Devi Ahilyabai Holkar

(2).....An excellent and well written Life of the pious Queen based on authentic and original records....."

—*Prabuddha Bharat.*

(3). Life of Devi Ahilyabai Holkar--Price 2-8.

.....लेखक मूकुंद वामनराव बर्वे, स्मॉलकॉज कोर्ट जज्ज इंदूर. देवी अहिल्याबाईचें हें चरित्र इंग्रजीत लिहिलें असून शक्य तितक्या विश्वसनीय कागदपत्रांच्या आधारें चरित्र लिहिले असल्यामुळें ऐतिहासिक दृष्ट्या उपयुक्त व वाचनीय झालें आहे....."

केसरी, तारीख ५ माहे एप्रिल सन १९२१.

" In the little book before us, Mr. Burway has given us a companion to his excellent lives of Ranoji Scindhia and Mahadji Scindhia, the latter of which was, not so long ago, reviewed in our columns. The subject of the present biography, Ahilyabai Holkar, was in her lifetime the most esteemed lady in India. To-day, more than a hundred years after her death, her memory is still piously preserved by the people of Maharashtra.

The family of Holkar, now the ruling princes of Indore, owe their rise to the valour and talents of Malhar Rao Holkar, who rose to greatness during the reign of King Shahu. He distinguished himself at the siege of Bassein, during the Maratha raids across the Jamna, but more particularly in Central India. In 1729 and 1730 he successively defeated and slew Girdhar Bahadur and Daya Bahadur, the Moghal Subhedars, and laid so secure a foundation for Maratha rule at Indore that it still endures unshaken. In 1733 he sought a wife for his only son Khanderao Holkar and found her in Ahilya Bai then a little girl of 8, the daughter of Mankoji Scindhia, the patil of Chonde, a village in the Aurangabad District. Mankoji was a Dhangar by caste, but as patil of his village, he enjoyed a considerable local status. After her marriage she lived in the house of her husband's parents and her character was formed by the noble and high spirited Gautamabai Malhar Rao's wife.

Ahilyabai's husband Khanderao was a youth full of promise, but in 1754 he was killed by a cannon ball at the siege of Kumbher, about eight miles from Deeg. Ahilyabai wished to become a suttee and was only dissuaded by Malhar Rao Holkar and Gautamabai, who by this time loved her as their own daughter. On the 20th May 1766 Malhar Rao, who had escaped the slaughter of Panipat, died at Alampur the ruler of a vast principality. As he left no son, the Peshwa recognised as his successor his grandson Malerao, but the latter died mad a year later. The question of the Holkar succession was reopened and the Peshwa bestowed the Jaghir on Ahilyabai as Malerao's mother. She appointed a kinsman Tukoji as her Commander-in-Chief and for nearly thirty years he helped his mistress to rule her State with admirable and single-minded devotion. Nor was Tukoji less skilful in the field than in the Council Chamber.

At the head of the 15,000 horse, which, by Maratha feudal tenure, Ahilya Bai had to furnish, Tukoji took part in all the Maratha expeditions, that ranged from Rohilkhand to Mysore. He shewed conspicuous courage in the great battle of Kharda, which completely humbled the Nizam of Haidarabad.

While Tokuji thus led her armies to victory abroad, at home Ahilya Bai devoted her life to the care of her subjects. Strictly abstemious and careful, she reduced the Court's expenses almost to nothing and was thus able at once to equip liberally her troops and to reduce the assessments paid by her peasants. Her greatest friend was the beautiful and virtuous Ramabai, Madhavrao's Queen, who, on her husband's death, followed him through the flames. During the rule of Savai Madhavrao, she supported through all turns of fortune Nana Phadnavis and her wedding presents to the young Peshwa were among the most splendid which he received.

The great lady passed away on the banks of the Narbada on the 13th August 1795 "with her mind "–to use Mr. Burway's picturesque phrase—" rivetted at the lotus feet of Shri Shankar, " or, to use a different metaphor, in the fullest odour of sanctity. For 29 years she had governed a Kingdom, organised armies and guarded the national interests with courage, foresight and scrupulous integrity. She left a name almost as revered as that of Sita or of Draupati, the legendry princesses of ancient India. In Mr. Burway she has found a biographer, whose skill is capable of doing her justice. With these words we recommend to our readers this admirable little book. "—The Times of India, 25th July 1923.

(4). ".....The saintly Queen's Life is extremely interesting and reflects great credit on the author.

—*Swami Shyamsarup Balyogi.*

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(5). ".....I congratulate you on writing it (Devi Ahilyabai Holkar's Life) out so nicely and ably, of course."

(Sd), *Aga Khan G. C. S. I.*

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(6). ".....Every Indian is proud of that saintly ruler and you have rendered a valuable service to the counntry by writing her biography in English....."

(Sd.) *S. M. Bapna, B. A., LL. B., B. Sc.*

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(7). " Mr, M. W. Burway, the well-known biographer of the Maratha Statesman and writer on Maratha History in general, has conferred a boon on the public by writing in English a life of Ahilyabai, the pious Queen of the Holkar Dynasty. Mr. Burway has written the biography with his usual erudition and characteristic piety. It will enrich the language in which it is written and spread far and wide the fame of this famous Ruler all over the world where the English language is spoken.

(Sd). *M. V. Kibe, M. A., M. R. A. S.*

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(8). " I have read your new book ' Devi Ahilyabai Holkar ' with great interest. "

(Sd). *Sinha,*
Governor, Bihar and Orisa.

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(9). " I have received your book on " Devi Ahilyabai Holkar. " which from the glimpse which I have been able to take of it appears to be of considerable interest. "

(Sd). *J. B. Wood.*

(10). "..... It makes very fascinating reading. I almost said it is the best historical Memoir from your pen that I have read. Your treatment of your subject is characterised by the true historical sense and the enthusiasm with which you write is worthy of the great Lady. "

(Sd). *K. N. Haksar, B. A, C. I. E.*

Open letter to a Young Prince.

Highly spoken of by the Press and several Ruling Princes and eminent Administrators.

Life of Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar II. G. C. S. I.

AJMER.

2nd September 1925.

My dear Pandit Burway,

A fortnight ago I received a copy of your valuable book " Life of Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar II (1835-86) " which you so kindly presented to me. In these days I was going through your work and I thought it advisable to express my opinion after reading a greater part of it.

The book is an exeellent work, full of original research and it is highly useful to those interested in the Maratha History and specially of the house of Indore. While reading,

I found it exceedingly interesting and I feel that you have achieved complete success in writing the biography of Maharaja Tukoji Rao. You have spared no pains to collect materials for this book and it is your special experience and close familiarity with the period that have enabled you to bring out such an authentic biography.

A single hurried glance at the book shows that it is the outcome of the long years of patient study, perseverance and the gradual experience of the Indore State affairs. I have little hesitation in saying that your work shall occupy a unique place in the biographies of the Indian Rulers and that it should prove to be of great value as a book of reference and certainly it should find a place on the table of the historians and all the High Officials in the State. The appendices too are no less interesting than the main part of the work.

Taking your work as a Model, I think the other prominent Indian States will also try to have the biographies of their Rulers written on your lines. It is all round an excellent work and I feel it a great pleasure to see that you have availed yourself of the latest researches. It clearly appears from your patient and painstaking research that you possess the sources of information that descend to the minutest details of the Maharaja's daily life.

At Nathadwara in the Udaipur State their is a large reservoir of water called Niliya Kund, in which there are several large rooms and Baradaries. There is in a niche in the wall there a Stone inscription of Tukoji Rao in elegant Sanskrit-Poetry.

I thank you very much for the valuable suggestion that you made in your letter and I shall with the greatest pleasure correct the mistake with a note in the second

fasciculus of my history or wherever it shall suit my convenence.

Lastly, I congratulate you and wish your great work all success.

With best regards, I am,
Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) **Gaurishankar H. Ojha.**

India Office, Whitehall.
London, S. W. I.
15th June, 1926.

My dear Sir.

I have received your letter of the 14th May and congratulate you on the completion of your work " The Life of Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar II."

You must feel relieved at the completion of this book at which you have laboured so long and I hope the public will show their appreciation of your work.

I have not seen Sir Hugh Daly for some considerable time.

Hoping you are in good health,
Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) **A. D. Bannerman.**

Observatory House,
Simla, W.
17-7-26.

Dear Mr Burway,

I congratulate you on the completion of the important work " Life of Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar II., " on which you have been so long engaged.

I look forward to seeing you again before long.

With best wishes,
I remain
Yours sincerely
(Sd.) **H. G. Haig.**

Slough Bucks.
9-9-26.

Dear Mr: Burway,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 30th June 1926.

Yes, the two copies of " Life of Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar II. " You entrusted to me have been duly sent to Colonel Luard and to the Oxford University. The former has duly acknowledged it.

Hoping you will enjoy all opportunities for the pursuit of your all important and interesting work.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) **M. E. Hardy.**

Dear Mr. Burway,

Many thanks four yor letter and the " Life of Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar II," which you have kindly sent me. I congratulate you on the success of this important biography, on which you had been so long engaged.

With best wishes
I remain
Yours sincerely
(Sd.) **J. B. Wood.**

" I have been asked by Mr. Burway to write a foreword to this work of his.

My friendship with the author dates back to over twenty years, a great link in it being our common love for the History of India. Mr. Burway has long devoted all his spare time to historical research and has given us the results in several most interesting volumes.

He has now come down to later days and has given us a vivid account of Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar II, who died as lately as 1886.

The work speaks for itself and it would be out of place here to deal with the account in any detail. I would, however, remark that the very distorted and incorrect view of the Maharaja's conduct during the Mutiny at Indore which was impressed upon Colonel Durand, doubtless by those who had their own axes to grind, is finally set at rest.

So Mr. Burway has added to his Series one more most useful and most readable work. To painstaking scholars such as the author the public owes a great debt of gratitude and it is to be hoped that those who have not read his previous volumes will, after reading the present Life, proceed to do so. Much, very much, remains to be done for the Maratha period of Indian history and considerable literature exists in the numerous Bakhars many of which have not yet been edited. I would appeal to Rulers and all who have family records to allow these to be read, edited and published as has been done by R. B. Parasnis in the case of the Maheshwar letters and other documents. It is these sources of Maratha history we want to have brought to light. I have perhaps wandered from my subject but it was suggested by Mr. Burway's own scholarly work which will, I hope, act as an incentive to

others who have access to Bakhars and documents to follow his most excellent example and put them before us in simpler readable form."

C. E. Luard, Colonel,
M. A., C. I. E.

"Students of Maratha history have had many causes for satisfaction in the past few years as one explorer after another in historical records has unfolded the past achievements of the Maratnas. Among those explorers a pro minent place is taken by Muntazim Bahadur M. W. Burway, who has written on the Marathas and the Moghuls, and on Devi Ahilyabai Holkar. His latest work, which has recently been published (Indore State Printing Press) is a Life of the late Maharaja Tukojirao Holkar II, the real restorer of prosperity to the Holkar State. Tukojirao Holkar was not a direct descendant of the great Malharrao. Indeed he was not even born in Central India. He was born in 1835 in the village of Karanji, in the Nasik District, where his father, Bhau Holkar, had fled to escape political persecution. When the whole administration of the Holkar State fell to pieces on the death of Maharaja Hari-rao, the British Government directed Masahib Krishnabai, a widow of Yeshwantrao, to adopt Bhau Holkar's second son then called Malharrao. The choice proved admirable for Malharrao, whose name was changed on adoption to Tukoji-rao, ruled the Halkar principality well for forty-two years. He was installed on the gadi in 1844 and died in 1886. From the earliest years of his rule the young Maharaja showed a resolution to master all details of his administration and his energy and activity led to an open rupture between him and Raja Bhao Phanse, the senior member of the Council of Regency. This rupture was followed by the

dismissal of Phanse and the grant of increased powers to the prince. In 1852 he was invested with the full powers of he state.

With an active and intelligent prince, great resources and peace at home and abroad, the prospects of the Holkar State seemed all that its subjects could have wished; but a mighty storm, in no way connected with the Holkar house, was to burst over British India and to spread to every Indian principality. On the 10th May 1857, the great Mutiny broke out at Meerut and spread rapidly over Upper India. In quick succession there came to Indore the news of outbreaks at Nasirabad, Neemuch, Jhansi and Gwalior. As usual in India there were added to the real news numerous false rumours and there was not wanting a man ready to profit by the situation. In Indore there lived one Sadat Khan, a discontented ex-officer, who had been degraded for various malpractices by the Indore Darbar. He collected round him all the criminals and desperadoes of the city and on the 1st July, 1857, he opened fire with three guns on the lines of the Bhopal contingent. Colonel Travers, who cammanded a Bhil contingent, marched to the sound of the guns; but the Bhils, terrified at the noise, broke and fled. Colonel Durand, Resident, retreated to Sehore. In the meantime the Bengal regiments at Mhow mutinied, killed their officers and marched to Indore and demanded the heads of several Europeans, who had taken shelter in the palace. The Maharaja with great courage refused to surrender them. The mutineers then plundered the city, committing fearful atrocities. Afterwards they marched to Delhi, and Indore, far from the centre of the great disturbance, gradually relapsed into quiet. The Maharaja's anxieties were, however, not diminished; for the Resident Colonel Durand charged him with complicity with the mutineers. Of this groundless charge the Maharaja was

in the end entirely absolved and Lord Canning in an official letter to the Maharaja conveyed to him the thanks of the Government of India for his timely and continued assistance.

We do not propose to follow Mr. Burway through his detailed account of how Maharaja Tukojirao worked with unflagging zeal for the good of his State and by his efforts materially enlarged its boundaries Mr. Burway has thrown himself wholeheartedly into his task. The result is that his book, excellently written, will long remain a standard work"—The Times of India, 9th January, 1926.

"दुसरे महाराज तुकोजीराव होळकर यांचें चरित्र (इंग्रजींत)—(ले. मुकुंद वामनराव बर्वे इमली बाजार इंदूर शहर. कि. रु. १५) अव्वल इंग्रजींत जे अनेक कर्तबगार राज्यकर्ते होऊन गेले त्यांत इंदूरचे दुसरे तुकोजीराव यांची प्रामुख्यानें गणना होते. त्या वेळीं इग्रजी अंमल चांगलासा स्थिर झाला नसून व दलहौसीच्या कारकीर्दीतील स्वाहाकाराचें धोरण, सत्तावन सालचे स्वातंत्र्ययुद्ध, वगैरे अनेक महत्त्वाच्या घटना तुकोजीरावांच्या कारकीर्दीत झाल्या. परंतु या सर्व बावटळींतून शीर सलामत राखून व इंग्रज राज्यकर्त्यांवर छाप ठेवून संस्थानांत अनेक प्रकारच्या महत्वाच्या सुधारणा तुकोजीरावांनीं घडवून आणल्या; यावरून तुकोजीराव कोणत्या दर्जाचे राज्य कर्ते होते याची योग्य कल्पना येतें. ५७ सालच्या युद्धांत श्री. तुकोजीराव यानीं इंग्रज सरकारास कशी मदत केली व धार संस्थानावर आलेलें संकट त्यांनीं कशा चतुराईनें टाळलें, सत्तावन सालच्या मदतबद्दल ३६० चौ. मै. क्षेत्रफळाचा मुलूख संपादन करण्यासाठीं त्यांनीं कशी खटपट केली वगैरे चरित्रांतील हकीकती वाचण्यासारख्या आहेत.

तुकोजीराव अत्यंत स्पष्टवक्ते व सरळ बोलणारे असत. इंग्रजांच्या राजकीय धोरणाचा प्रश्न आला असतां न कचरता निर्भीडपणें ते आपलें मत देत. ब्रह्मदेश खालसा करण्याच्या वेळीं ही गोष्ट राणीच्या जाहिरनाम्याच्या विरुद्ध आहे असे त्यांनीं आपले मत स्पष्टपणें ब्रि. सरकारास कळविले होते. अशाच प्रकारची त्यांच्या स्पष्टवक्तेपणाची अनेक उदाहरणे दाखवितां येतील.

महाराजांनीं स. १८८६ पर्यंत राज्याचा उपभोग घेउन देहत्याग केला. यांची सर्वच कारकीर्द महत्त्वपूर्ण अशी झाली. श्री. बर्वे यांनीं फार परिश्रम घेऊन अनेक कागदपत्रांच्या आधारे सुव्यवस्थित व सांगोपांग असें प्रस्तुत चरित्र लिहिलें याबद्दल ते स्तुतीस पात्र आहेत. चरित्र सर्वांगपूर्ण करण्याबद्दल श्री. बर्वे यांनीं फार काळजी घेतलेली आहे. होळकर राजवंशाची, त्याच्याशीं संबंध आलेल्या थोर पुरुषांचीं व होळकर राज्यांतील कलाकुसरीच्या व ऐतिहासिक महत्त्वाच्या स्थलांचीं अशीं सुमारें ६० चित्रें पुस्तकांत घातलीं असून शेवटीं होळकर घराण्याचा वंशवृक्ष जोडण्यांत आला आहे. श्री. बर्वे यांचे हें श्री. तुकोजीरावाचे एकेचाळीस प्रकरणी इंग्रजी चरित्र सर्वच वाचनीय व मननीय आहे. विशेषतः हल्लींच्या हिंदी संस्थानिकांना त्यापासून पुष्कळ बोध घेतां येण्याजोगा आहे.

श्री. बर्वे यांच्या या उपक्रमाप्रमाणें हिंदी संस्थानिकांनीं आपआपल्या संस्थानांतील राज्यकर्त्यांचा इतिहास लिहवून घेण्याचें ठरविल्यास हिंदुस्थानाच्या, विशेषतः मराठ्यांच्या, इतिहासांत बिनमोल अशी भर पडून संस्थानिकानाहि आपल्या पूर्वजांचें वाङ्मयश्राद्ध केल्याचें पुण्य लाभेल."—केसरी, तारीख १३ जुलै १९२६.

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Errata.

Page.	Line	For	Read
Preface			
2	30	pnblished	published.
3	25	informad	informed.
6	20	Hydorabad	Hyderabad.
Introduction			
9	21	Exoept	Except.
18	19	Magnonimity	Magnanimity.
21	6	hecking	checking.

on Page 24. line 21 the words 'of Jaysing' are redundant.

32	27	Inaccurats	inaccurate.
33	21	estemated	estimated.
67	23	Peshwas	Peshwa.
75	20	paralized	paralysed.
86	4	o	of,
94	16	ancedote	anecdote.
95	26	महाराव	मल्हारराव.
99	4	petenent	pertinent.
100	16	believes	believe.
101	24	Jankojt	Jankoji.
103	21	afgans	Afgans.
110	3	connon	cannon.
111	22	connonade	cannonade.
116	17	heir	their.
120	9	whom	of whom.
137	22	tha	the.
146	13	Paithu	Paithan.
146	21	असून	असून.
150	12	Pedhe	Pethe.
175	19	axtreme	extreme.
183	7	Jankoji Scindhia	Manaji Scindhia.

On Page 176, the Marathi Extract No. (1) should be read along with Baji Rao's Letter on Page 178.

॥ श्रीराम ॥

The Indian Historical Series.

Edited By

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Author of "Bhagwat Gita," "Marathas and Moguls," "Ranojirao Scindhia," and "Rao Raja Sir Dinkar Rao," etc.

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15. Mahadji Scindhia, by the present writer.
16 Memoirs of Central India, by Sir John Malcolm.
17. Life of Malhar Rao Holkar, by Mr. Atre.

Some opinions about the present work.

BAXI-BAG
Indore
20th January 1930.

I have had an opportunity of reading Mr. Burway's latest book "Life of Subhedar Malhar Rao Holkar, the founder of the Holkar State". It is a well-written book and contains valuable information. He deserves much credit for removing misconceptions regarding the part played by the illustrious warrior at Panipat.

(Sd.) **S. M. Bapna,**
Prime Minister to His Highness
The Maharaja Holkar.

My dear Burway Sahib,

I have great pleasure in returning herewith your Mss: of the Life of Subhedar Malhar Rao Holkar. I have glanced through it with pleasure and profit. It will be a noteworthy addition to the Series of Lives which you have already published and which you have still to give to the public. It is written in your usual thought--and--patriotism--provoking manner and it gives a vivid account of the history of the period covered by the Life of the great Soldier and Founder

of the Holkar State. A perusal of your writing displays your wide reading and your power and tact in untilising it to the fullest extent. I am looking forward to an early publication of your manuscript.

Wishing you sound health and long life.

Your sincerely,
(Sd.) **M. V. Kibe, M. A.**
Sardar, Rao Bahadur,
Deputy Prime Minister Indore.

Dapoli
29th April 1929.

Dear Mr. Burway,

I have been reading with much pleasure and interest your latest contribution to the history of the Marathas, the biography of Malhar Rao Holkar I. It is written in your usual vigorous and idiomatic style. In this work, as in your previous volumes, you have shown, if I may venture to say so, a remarkable power of selecting the most noteworthy and important events for special emphasis, passing more rapidly over other portions of your subject matter. Thus, for example, in the case of the Panipat campaign you have in this volume dealt some hard blows at the widely held theory that the catastrophe at Panipat ruined the Maratha Empire. I am convinced that it did nothing of the kind. It was a smashing

disaster, no doubt. But you have shown that its effect on the fortunes of the Marathas has been grossly exaggerated by many writers.

Again, the actions of Malhar Rao Holkar at Panipat and afterwards have sometimes been misunderstood. I notice that you are quite ready to admit that Malhar Rao was mistaken in advising Naro Shankar to leave Delhi after the battle of Panipat. But you have proved, by reference to the Peshwa's Diaries and other sources, that apart from that error of judgment his conduct was approved by the Peshwa and handsomely rewarded. With best wishes for the success of your new book.

I am, yours sincerely,
(Sd). **H H. Heaton, M. A., (Oxon).**

Ratnagiri
12th June, 1929.

My dear Mr. Burway,

".....Your new book " Life of Malhar Rao Holkar I " will be a valuable addition to the records of Maratha history, and as equally interesting as your other publications. Please let me know to which address I should in due course return it. "

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) **W. Gilligan,**
Collector of Ratnagiri.

Indian Literary Review, September, 1930.

Life of Subhedar Malhar Rao Holkar: Founder of the Indore State. By Mukund Wamanrao Burway. With illustrations, Rs. 7.

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